THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 170 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 20, 1950 NUMBER 20, PART I

The Shape of Things

APART FROM THE SENSATION CREATED BY M. Schuman's coal-steel proposal, the one important piece of news coming out of the Foreign Ministers' meeting in London was the final announcement on Germany. The three powers will keep troops in Germany as long as the cold war goes on; there will be no separate peace treaties with the Bonn regime, but controls will be relaxed and West Germany will be integrated—magic word—with Western Europe. There was no mention in this connection of the Schuman plan, but obviously it is destined to become the controversial center of discussion of Germany's role in the coalition against Russia. Whether France made the proposal—as Mr. del Vayo suggests—primarily as a diversion, to prevent the threatened political integration of Germany, or whether it is a boldly positive effort to insure the planned and supervised use of German productive power, will only be determined in the weeks ahead. Even if the second purpose is the chief one, it yet remains a question whether an international steel-coal authority is not all too certain to become the creature of the powerful interests which still rule the heavy industries of Germany and France. If this should happen, the French plan would have provided a blueprint for a vast new cartel structure in which German power would again be the dominant factor. In the past the British Labor government has proved a weak defender of democratic economic policies in Germany. Perhaps the new proposal will inspire it to stronger action if only in defense of its own competitive position.

*

THE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT PUBLISHED WITH this week's issue brings our readers a fair summary of the proceedings of the Nation Associates' conference on April 29 and 30. What it cannot provide is the atmosphere and temper of the meetings. To many people present, the freedom from constraint of speakers and delegates alike seemed as important a contribution as the positive proposals made for finding a way out of the cold-war deadlock. For two days several hundred men and women discussed the most fateful issues of our time, and did so without either deferring to official hysteria or voicing even once the automatic clichés of the Communist-run "peace" congresses. It is something to have proved that a free public opinion exists and is willing to be recorded in vigorous and public support of a program of conciliation and in opposition to the rigid postulates on which the foreign policy of Russia and the Western powers alike is based. Out of the discussions the substance of such a program emerged and began to take form. Its further elaboration, as well as the crystallizing of opinion behind it, will occupy much of the attention of this journal in the weeks and months ahead.

*

NOW ALMOST TWO YEARS OLD, THE FIGHT to restore *The Nation* to the New York City public-school libraries is being pressed as vigorously as ever, despite ever-mounting costs in hours and dollars. R. Lawrence Siegel of the American Civil Liberties Union, who has volunteered to serve as our counsel "for the duration," recently reargued *The Nation's* case before educational officials in Albany and Brooklyn. In Albany he urged Dr. Lewis A. Wilson, Acting State Commissioner of Education, to review and reverse the ruling of his predecessor, since deceased, that the State Commissioner had no authority to order the New York City Board of Education to resubscribe to *The Nation*. Mr. Siegel also asked Dr. Wilson to revoke the ban which has been maintained against this journal ever since the last article in the famous series by Paul Blanshard appeared in our issue of June 5, 1948. Mr. Siegel then appeared with Freda Kirchwey before Dr. William Jansen and the Board of Superintendents to "restate the danger" of this act of censorship, citing, as he had done in Albany, the attempt of special groups, encouraged by the ban on *The Nation*, to obtain the removal of "Oliver Twist" and "The Merchant of Venice" from school libraries because of their "anti-Semitism." Mr. Siegel asked the superintendents to place *The Nation* on the public schools' approved periodical list for the school year 1950-51, soon to be issued. If neither appeal is successful, *The Nation* will resort to the courts. Suits are at present pending in the State Supreme Court in Albany and in Kings County. As the New York *Times* said in a gratifying outspoken editorial the other day, "the interests of free speech and fair play" will suffer as long as the ban continues.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

COVER

Drawing by Oscar Berger

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 461
Who's Who? *by Brandel* 463
Fatal Compromise 463

ARTICLES

Schuman's Coup d'Etat *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 464
Harry Goes a-Hunting *by Carleton Kent* 466
Battle in a Paper Bag *by Willard Shelton* 467
Beside the Point: *by Robert Bendiner and Margaret Marshall* 468
Glen Taylor Rides Again *by Richard L. Neuberger* 469
Dangerous Thoughts: "Who's Doing What to Whom?" *by Ring Lardner, Jr.* 471
The New Scramble for Africa *by R. K. Cope* 472
Looking Backward 473

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Essays and Asides. The Uses of Translation *by Mark Van Doren* 474
Debate with Millikan *by Albert Guérard* 475
The Orient Express. *A Poem by Randall Jarrell* 475
Proust: A Rounded Portrait *by Elizabeth Gallaher* 477
The Shadow of Samuel Butler *by Jacob Korg* 478
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 479

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 362 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 480

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Jerry Tallmer — *Copy Editor:* Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1950, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

SENATOR CHAVEZ IS ALMOST CERTAINLY far wide of the mark when he suggests that Louis F. Budenz, professional finger man for professional anti-Communists, is still a Communist, playing a devious game for Moscow. But, if so, this was the only aspect of his speech on the Senate floor that was far-fetched. It was both courageous and politically responsible for this devout Roman Catholic to proclaim the "special obligation" that rests on a man to speak on communism while "enjoying the status afforded by the church," as Budenz does by virtue of his position at Fordham University. That obligation is to refrain from using the standing given him by the church "to engage in specious and divisive attacks against his fellow-citizens and against the concepts of freedom and the government of the United States." Referring pointedly to Budenz's role as a McCarthy witness, the Senator observed, "I still believe in the jury system." We believe that New Mexico's Senator stands to gain from his bold speech. As a proved Democrat representing a state that is approximately 60 per cent Catholic, it is obviously important for him to make it clear that the attempt to paint the Administration red is not a project that carries the official sanction of the church. Beyond this political consideration, Chavez will no doubt have the gratitude of his fellow-churchmen who have no desire to be unfairly identified, through Budenz, with the revolting methods and aims of Senator McCarthy. Inevitably Chavez brought down on his head the wrath of the Very Reverend Lawrence J. McGinley, president of the university that has given a point of vantage to Mr. Budenz. But we believe that Father McGinley's strictures on the "hypocrisy and uncharitableness" of Senator Chavez will lack somewhat in sincerity until he applies the same moral judgments to that champion bearer of false witness, the Senator from Wisconsin.

✳

THREE JUDGES OF AN APPELLATE COURT in California have chosen to take the Constitution and the United Nations Charter literally. If they are upheld, the effect on American law will be more far-reaching than any change since adoption of the Bill of Rights. Article VI, Section 2, of the Constitution says flatly that treaties, together with the Constitution itself and federal laws made under it, "shall be the supreme law of the land . . . anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." Chapter I, Article 1, of the United Nations Charter, a treaty binding on the United States, says just as flatly that a purpose of the signatories is "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Combining these two provisions of supreme law, the judges ruled invalid a California statute forbidding

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aliens who are ineligible for citizenship—in effect, Japanese—to own land. The ruling is reported to have caused "astonishment" in legal circles, where the power of treaties is held to be limited by a ruling handed down by John Marshall 121 years ago. Treaties are law, in this sense, said the Chief Justice, only when self-executing; when they require performance of a particular act, "the legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the court." The world has changed greatly since 1829, and the treaties Marshall had in mind were very different from the approximation to world law contained in the U. N. Charter. The struggle of state and federal sovereignties against the sovereignty of a world body is at its mere beginning, but it is good to see that beginning recognized. It is enormously refreshing that even at this early stage of the struggle a high state court should be unanimous in its belief that our commitments in the U. N., far from being mere rhetoric, are the law of the land.

*

KEITH HUTCHISON, FINANCIAL EDITOR OF *The Nation*, has just left for Europe, where he will spend the next several months. He will send back regular reports of political and economic developments in Great Britain and on the Continent.

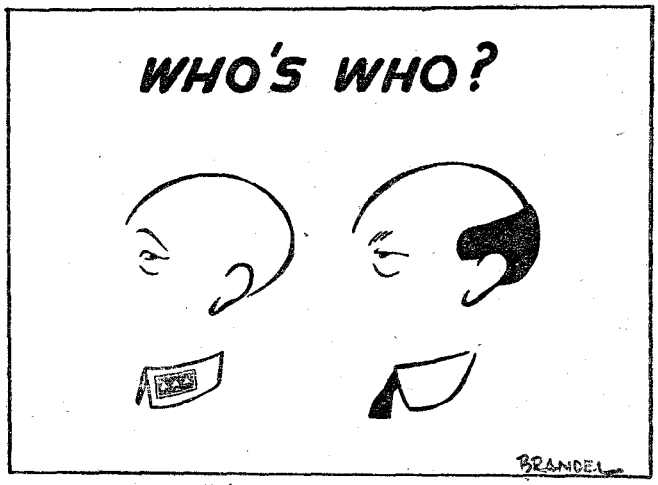
*

INDIGNANT OVER THE STRIKE OF THE Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, rail executives last week demanded enactment of the Donnell bill to outlaw railroad strikes, impose compulsory arbitration of disputes, and enforce these provisions by injunction, jail sentences, and $20,000 fines. The executives accused the firemen of attempting to get "featherbed" jobs, and immediate demands make the charge seem plausible. But this is only the most superficial view of the union's case. It does not account for a series of threatened strikes within the past ten years, in which the railroad unions repeatedly refused to accept the recommendations of fact-finding boards under the voluntary procedures of the present Railway Labor Act. The other side of the story is that the act itself enmeshed the unions in so much red tape that, relatively, their wages and working standards have slipped. Other unions have gained appreciable wage increases in the past fifteen years as well as union shops and the five-day week. Rail wages, once at the top of the scale, have lost ground in comparison with mining and factory wages. The rail unions, moreover, have yet to win a union shop, and some of them do not yet have a five-day week. The transportation industry intimately affects the public interest, but the clamor for more restrictions on labor freedom ignores comparative experience under the relatively mild Railway Labor Act and the more stringent procedures imposed in other countries. The inevitable sequel to compulsory arbitration will be government ownership of the rails, for public opinion will not permanently support forcing men to work on unacceptable terms for the profit of private employers. Management should remember that while running the roads as free enterprise may be painful, a stricter labor law will not solve the basic problems.

Fatal Compromise

TECHNICALLY the Supreme Court has decided on the validity of the Taft-Hartley oath, but the questions raised by that requirement are so grave and the nature of the verdict was so hazy that we believe a reargument to be clearly in order. In the first place, the case, brought jointly by the United Steelworkers and the American Communications Association, was not quite the five-to-one decision it is represented as being. The section of the act in question requires all trade-union officials to swear, first, that they are not members of the Communist Party and, second, that they do not "believe . . . in the overthrow of the United States government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods." It was only on the first aspect of the oath that the court divided five to one. On the requirement concerning mere belief the division was three and three, Justices Jackson and Frankfurter joining Justice Black in dissent. Reconsideration of the appeal would permit Justice Douglas to take part, and if his past utterances are a fair criterion, the tie would be broken in favor of the unions. It would seem to us directly contrary to the public interest to have cases of far-reaching importance settled by a tie vote of the Supreme Court, which merely upholds the decision of the lower court by default. This is particularly true when, as in this instance, the lower court was itself divided on the issue.

The oath requirement of the Taft-Hartley act involves



[*Answer on next page*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a challenge to the most basic American legal doctrine. Historically our courts have drawn a sharp line between inquiry into acts, including even membership in a questionable group, and inquiry into belief. In a braver day Jackson condemned a West Virginia Board of Education for invading "the sphere of intellect and spirit which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to our Constitution to reserve from all official control" (*Board of Education* v. *Barnette*). More recently Douglas reiterated the principle: "Freedom of thought . . . is basic in a society of free men." And voicing the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut*, the late Justice Rutledge stated the distinction with utmost clarity: "Thus the [First] Amendment embraces two concepts—freedom to believe and freedom to act. The first is absolute, but, in the nature of things, the second cannot be."

We are fallen on evil days now, when a Chief Justice can say that while a man may not be imprisoned for mere belief, he may be forced, by government action, to relinquish his post as a trade-union leader. The difference between jailing a man and ousting him from union office is appreciable, but it is not the issue here. The issue is that Justice Vinson and his concurring colleagues have breached the ancient wall between thought and action.

It is virtually impossible to separate the two parts of the oath. The argument of the authors of the law is well taken that without the "belief" clause, the provision against membership in the Communist Party is meaningless, since it is a simple matter to surrender a party card for tactical reasons. But is it not just as easy for a Communist to deny belief in forceful overthrow of the government? And can the Labor Board or any other body gainsay such a denial without presuming to read a man's mind?

But if the oaths are in fact inseparable, the logical course for men like Jackson and Frankfurter, who wish to preserve the distinction between action and belief, is not to attempt the impossible feat of making the provision foolproof. It is rather for them to strike down the whole fatuous concept of insuring loyalty by oaths that undermine liberty and mean nothing at all to those who are really committed to communism. Pleading before the court, counsel for one of the appellants touched the heart of the problem. "The government," he said, "contends that this statute does not regulate beliefs but regulates conduct—that is, the calling of political strikes. The government says the Communists are likely to call political strikes. Well, in that case let Congress pass a law against political strikes."

History, we hope and believe, will side neither with the so-called majority in this case nor with the partial dissents of Jackson and Frankfurter, but with the classical view expressed by Justice Black: ". . . religious and political test oaths are implacable foes of free thought. By approving their imposition this court has injected compromise into a field where the First Amendment forbids compromise."

Answer to Who's Who?: Chiang Kai-shek, Clement Attlee

Schuman's Coup d'Etat

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

London, May 12

THE "conference on Germany" opened officially yesterday at Lancaster House. To call it this is to risk oversimplification. In these two days' talks, as in the preceding conversations between Mr. Acheson and M. Schuman in Paris and between Mr. Acheson and Mr. Bevin in London, almost every important spot in the world has been scrutinized more or less sharply. Two major issues—putting teeth into the Atlantic Pact and the crisis in Asia—have been given and continue to be given most careful attention. But Germany remains the central and volcanic point around which all other issues cluster. This was what I foresaw in my Preview of London (*The Nation*, May 6), and two weeks later there is no reason to question it. Only by keeping the problem of Germany constantly in mind will readers be able to see through the perplexing labyrinth of Western diplomacy.

It was Germany that prepared the explosive material for the big bomb detonated at the start of the conference. The sensational proposal of Foreign Minister Schuman to pool the entire Franco-German output of coal and steel left Mr. Bevin uncertain exactly which cold war to begin first—the cold war against the Russians or that against the Americans or that against the French. There is, of course, no danger that the idea will split the conference. Nothing will split the conference. There is always a magic way of escape—the appointment of a committee to study the matter—and that is what was decided upon today after some general, polite talk on the subject. But the intimate details of this unexpected development are worth recounting.

Before the conference Schuman had disclosed his plan to a few French officials. It is ironic to note that according to American reporters he also mentioned his project to Acheson at their first meeting but in so offhand a fashion that the Secretary of State did not grasp its significance. Schuman apparently had informed Chancellor Adenauer, for if Adenauer had rejected it when it was made public or had shown little enthusiasm for it, the effectiveness of Schuman's strategy would have evaporated in a few hours. There was no reason for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adenauer not to be happy about it. His country emerges from every incident of the cold war as the only party unquestionably benefited.

The roles were well distributed. On the same day that Mr. Acheson was in Paris in consultation with his advisers, the French President, M. Auriol, speaking at Rheims, restated for the record France's consistent reluctance to see Germany taking the place of Russia as one of the Big Four. The timing and the tone of his speech were very significant for those who know how to read the French mind, but there was no acerbity to disturb the Americans. The next day, Monday, Mr. Acheson and Mr. Schuman talked about Indo-China. The French won their first point: their views on Indo-China were accepted by Acheson. Once agreement on that was secured, Schuman was free to act, and he came out with his bold proposal. The whole strategy reinforces the reputation of a very smart and supple Foreign Minister. But Schuman is the last person to want to disappoint the Americans. Therefore people here thought Acheson had been told of the steel-coal plan in Paris, and that assumption increased the displeasure of the British, who were kept in the dark.

Why on earth should the saintly M. Schuman have taken this step only forty hours before the Big Three meeting? Obviously he felt it was the only way to avert the danger, implicit in the conference, that full acceptance of Germany as an equal partner of the Big Three would become a *fait accompli*. To hamstring Germany's political integration into the Western system he proposed its economic integration, which is much more difficult for the British to accept. By complicating the issue he diminished and postponed the danger, while protecting French basic interests in case the plan is finally accepted and worked out. If all German heavy industry is to be permitted to expand, France stands to gain by bringing it "under the umbrella" of international control.

Bevin finds himself left almost without initiative in the plans for a unified Europe. The essential question for the British is an economic one. They are recovering in an impressive way from a crisis that would have broken the backbone of any nation with less stamina and national discipline. A Germany strengthened by the proposed coal-steel pool and capable of becoming again the big competitor it was before World War I would threaten Britain's markets and might destroy the results of the effort it has made during these incredibly difficult and austere years.

That is the inside story of the biggest event so far of the London conference. On the surface things look quite different. From the beginning the accepted procedure has been to smile on the Schuman proposal. Mr. Acheson has smiled so broadly that he has given apparent color to the Communist propaganda that depicts him as the real promoter of the Schuman move. Bevin has smiled less and left it to Prime Minister Attlee to comment politely, but only politely, on the idea of the pool. It could hardly be otherwise, since Schuman in announcing his plan described it as something that "would make war between Germany and France not only unthinkable but impossible." In this "conference for peace" who could oppose such a blessing? But, attention, please; a little peace is in order, but not too much! Already some papers, like the Manchester *Guardian*, see in the Schuman proposal a possibility of European neutralization. But "neutralization" is just the word that sounds most horrid in the ears of the State Department.

This is one of the apparent difficulties of the conference—along with other internal contradictions. It is hard to build up at one and the same time a morale of war and a morale of peace. I have written before about the inherent limitations of the cold war and insisted that it must almost inevitably degenerate into shooting war. The limitations are evident here. For instance, people on this side of the Atlantic are asking: It is all right to get armaments, but what about civil defense? Yet to organize civil defense is to give a sensation of the imminence of war, and that alarms people and lowers their morale; on the other hand, without civil defense the people are panicky at the thought of an atomic war. It is the same with the question of effectives, which are being discussed here from the political angle, following the meeting at The Hague where the Defense Ministers dealt with its military aspect. Western Europeans are telling the Americans, "You want Germany in; then it is indispensable to have enough American divisions in Europe to counterbalance German power." But America wants Germany in precisely in order to reduce as far as possible the number of American divisions needed in Europe. I could mention a dozen other contradictions, like that in regard to Indo-China, with the Americans yielding to the French on Bao Dai and the British now forced to join both, to the indignation of India and Pakistan and at the risk of new difficulties within the Commonwealth.

But from the point of view of international cooperation and peace I would warn the Russians not to exaggerate these difficulties and contradictions. Far more important are the American determination to get out of this conference some kind of working machinery for the Atlantic coalition and the failure of other countries to present a really dynamic alternative to the American view that "there is no sense in trying to come to an agreement with the Russians." The only way out is for the Russians to offer a concrete and convincing program for the collaboration of the East and the West, not merely a peace campaign or a collection of signatures asking that the atomic bomb be outlawed. The moment is now, and Trygve Lie is in Moscow. There is no time to lose.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harry Goes a-Hunting

BY CARLETON KENT

Chicago, May 14

SHORTLY before President Truman began his Western trip, an astute political worker for New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey predicted to Washington reporters that the President would "find the crowds smaller and more vociferous than in 1948." After ten days aboard the President's special, it is clear that the efficiency of the Dewey team is no higher than it was in 1944 and 1948. The crowds that showed up for Mr. Truman were even larger than during the last Presidential campaign, and the applause meter registered about the same volume of noise.

If Mr. Truman made any major mistakes on his hectic 6,500-mile tour of the wild but partially reclaimed and public-powered West, they were not apparent to most of the reporters on his train. It seemed to them, determined not to misread the attitude of the big crowds as they had done in 1948, that he made friends everywhere.

Apparently there was belated Republican confirmation of that view. At Williston, North Dakota, mimeographed sheets were handed aboard the train by Victor A. Johnston, special agent of Republican strategists in Washington, who unhappily shadowed the Truman train in a chartered plane and waited for its arrival on the platform at every stop. Johnston declared that the Truman crowds were engineered jobs, packed with children let out of school on their promise to hang around the railroad station. But two stops later, at Fargo, a perfectly enormous audience was waiting to hear the President on Saturday night. Estimates given reporters ranged from 20,000 to 40,000, and it was said that recent floods prevented many farmers from coming to town. Fargo, of course, is Republican country. After reading Johnston's complaints the reporters thought the Fargo schools must have odd hours if they let the pupils out at 9:30 on a Saturday night. The political editor of the town's Republican paper said that the only time he had seen a Fargo crowd to compare with this one was when Franklin D. Roosevelt stopped there in 1936, at the height of the New Deal's popularity.

The crowds were not demonstrative anywhere along the route. None of the President's fifty-five speeches aroused his audiences to the frenzied enthusiasm that F. D. R. used to provoke. People never gave any particular sign that they were hell-or-high-water Truman voters. It should be remembered, however, that the 1948 audiences also were deceivingly noncommittal. Mr. Truman doesn't move his audiences as Roosevelt did. F. D. R.'s flashing charm and forensic brilliance brought out roars of applause that Mr. Truman seldom tries for. He calls that play-acting.

Nevertheless, the hundreds of thousands of people who turned out to greet Harry Truman in the West were sympathetic. If his syntax was sketchy to the point of being illogical, his audiences always understood what he meant and warmed to his earnest, friendly manner —his one gesture is still the left-handed meat-slicing motion. His turns of speech and pronunciation were Middle-Southwest "country" as always. Easterners who looked pityingly down their noses at his frequent reference to the "reservoys" that are a part of the reclamation and flood-control projects of the West couldn't be expected to know that a great many Westerners never heard any other pronunciation of the word.

His tying-in of local pride with history and the world's destiny was masterful. What was any small town's chief interest? Wheat, meat, mines, hospitals, electric-power cooperatives? In a few easy steps Mr. Truman convinced the townspeople that by their activities in these fields they were contributing to the community, the nation, and the world. They hadn't known how important they were before. He showed them. And when they applauded him, their plainspoken countryman, they were also applauding themselves, and having their minds made up for them as to how they should vote. In addition to Mr. Truman's unquestionable talent for appealing to ordinary people, there must have been some excellent staff work in planning, timing, research, and between-stop speech writing.

Many of the salty phrases were Mr. Truman's own. And it is not being critical of his staff to point out that he got most of his laughs when he "departed from text." He was often applauded too when he lifted his eyes from the manuscript before him to put what was written for him in his own way, or to illuminate some point by telling a homely Missouri-type anecdote. That, of course, was exactly what his speech-writers wanted.

As for the "non-political" phase of the exhausting trip, let's stop kidding. Anyone over the age of ten knows whom a Democratic President refers to when he speaks blandly of old fogies, mossbacks, penny-pinchers, economic isolationists, acorn minds, prophets of gloom, the lunatic fringe, robber barons, diehard reactionaries, men of little faith, calamity-howlers, the timid minority.

CARLETON KENT is the Washington correspondent of the Chicago Sun-Times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There wasn't much sign of the damage Senator McCarthy is supposed to have done with his charge that the Administration is cozening Communists. Local papers were not giving McCarthy's story much space. The crowds greeting Mr. Truman never once raised a pro-McCarthy sign or heckled him with anything worse than "Hi, Harry," or "Look over here, Harry." It can be said flatly that Mr. Truman doesn't dislike that.

The President celebrated his sixty-sixth birthday on his first day in the West, and thereafter his rigorous schedule ground down men and women on his staff and among the correspondents two-thirds or half or a quarter of his age.

Who is going to be the next Democratic candidate for President? That's easy—the new champion of the West.

Battle in a Paper Bag

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 14

LAST week the Southern Democrats unwrapped a new technique for filibustering against the Administration's bill for a Fair Employment Practices Commission, and the Senate's annual battle over civil-rights legislation became, at least temporarily, a farce and a fraud. The Southerners, with Republican aid, repeatedly shunted aside the FEPC debate and showed such command of the situation that an old-fashioned filibuster was unnecessary. Scott Lucas, Democratic floor leader, may be able to devise means of renewing the FEPC debate later with a move for cloture, but it must be recognized that the Southerners won the civil-rights battle of 1950 more than a year ago, when with the aid of Senators Hayden of Arizona and Wherry of Nebraska they successfully blocked a realistic revision of Senate rules on cloture. Until the Wherry rule is amended, it is extremely unlikely that any civil-rights legislation will be passed.

In the five days of so-called filibuster the Southerners held the floor only three times. Senators Russell of Georgia and Hill of Alabama made relatively brief speeches, concentrated on what they honestly considered to be the issues. There were no fifteen-hour speeches on how to make pot liquor. At one stage exactly seven Senators were on the floor—one Republican, one Administration Democrat, and five Southerners—and exactly thirty-three persons listened from the public galleries while the affable Southerners exchanged parliamentary questions and answers and filled the record with witty sallies for the edification of the folks back home. Most of the time the temporary presiding officer, by some coincidence, was another Southerner, who generously recognized almost anybody who wanted to talk on any subject—Republicans to attack President Truman's Western trip, Democrats to defend Truman, other Democrats to denounce the wickedness of oil imports, other Republicans to complain that the scheduled investigation of crime was incompetent and irrelevant.

Precisely what was in the minds of Republican and Democratic leaders during this fraudulent performance is not clear. The Democrats may have reached the conclusion that they could not put through an FEPC bill in the form it was reported out by the Senate committee, and that the only bill with a chance to pass was the "toothless" compromise proposed by Senator Taft and Representative McConnell (R., Pa.). That would mean that the only civil-rights measure to pass the Democratic Eighty-first Congress would bear the names of Republicans—which the Democrats certainly would not like in an election year. Republicans apparently voted to interrupt the FEPC discussion because it was a vital matter to Taft to defeat Reorganization Plan 12, which would have unhorsed Robert N. Denham, anti-labor general counsel of the Taft-Hartleyized National Labor Relations Board.

The decisive fact in the FEPC debate, in any case, was the Wherry cloture rule. The Administration, immediately after its 1948 victory at the polls, tried to push through a revision of the rules which would allow a majority of the Senate to shut off debate and force any issue to a vote. The Southerners filibustered against this proposal, and Republican Wherry with the support of Democrat Hayden, chairman of the Rules Committee, came up with the "compromise" now in effect. Wherry's rule requires a two-thirds' vote of all members of the Senate—not just of the members present—to invoke cloture. This means a minimum of sixty-four Senators, an extremely difficult majority to obtain, since any Senator who is absent is counted as against a motion to close debate. Supporters of the FEPC bill could be sure of only forty-five votes for cloture.

A determined fight by Lucas and other Administration leaders, with round-the-clock sessions and rigid control of debate to force the Southerners into an actual filibuster, would conceivably attract enough public attention and generate enough political heat to compel fence-sitters to stand up and be counted when the showdown came. But nothing less than such a fight will do the job, and the Southerners by their easygoing manner indicated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that they know it. Lost in the shuffle was the statesmanlike speech of Senator Benton of Connecticut, who warned that America's attitude toward minority rights gave Communist propagandists a weapon against us all over Asia.

IN THE grotesque McCarthy campaign against the State Department the question now is whether the Tydings subcommittee will have the courage to report the facts which are slowly being uncovered, and whether at least one of the two Republican members, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, will join the Democrats in trying to undo some of the damage that has been done to the department and the dignity of the Senate itself.

McCarthy charges that the department's loyalty files have been "raped" of essential documents, but the fact is that the files contain summaries of all the information the FBI has obtained on his victims. McCarthy himself declared on the Senate floor that he would not ask for the FBI's "raw files," then reversed himself. He began his whirling-dervish performance with accusations about eighty-one "cases" which had been studied and found unsensational by committees of the Republican Eightieth Congress. And in regard to the widely discussed *Amerasia* case, a report of a committee headed by the respected Representative Sam Hobbs of Alabama strongly suggested in 1946 that the reason prosecution of the defendants was relatively light was that the government's evidence would not stand up in court: there was a serious question of improper search and seizure; there may have been a question of inadmissible evidence obtained by wiretapping.

McCarthy's charges have stirred up excitement in groups of the electorate which are almost instinctively suspicious of the State Department, but both Republican and Democratic members of the Tydings committee face a question of responsibility. A fellow-Senator has abused his privileges and immunities, has grossly maligned employees of the government identified by name or by such minute description that the name could be easily guessed, has blatantly repeated unproved accusations against other citizens made originally by the China lobby. What was this "desk" at the State Department which McCarthy attributed to Owen Lattimore? What became of McCarthy's promise to repeat accusations outside his Congressional immunity or resign his seat in the Senate? Where are the 205 State Department workers who were "known to the Secretary," McCarthy said at Wheeling, "as being members of the Communist Party"? After the Tydings committee has completed its study of the department files, it has a clear-cut obligation to issue a report which states the facts fairly about McCarthy's victims and does elementary justice to McCarthy's Hitlerian methods.

BESIDE THE POINT

ORDINARY behavior and a reasonable explanation of it are very dangerous these days. For instance, if you write, on request, a memorandum for the State Department outlining your views on what to do about China, you are likely to be hauled up before Senator McCarthy's committee; if you give a reasonable explanation of your behavior you are sure to be denounced as a Communist and thrown to the Chicago *Tribune*.

Peculiar behavior and a peculiar explanation of it are much safer.

Item: In Elizabeth, New Jersey, a man was observed walking back and forth in a residential street, ten paces back and ten paces forth. When the police asked him what he was doing he said he was breaking in a new pair of shoes—and apparently his story was accepted.

Item: In Washington a man was found biting a dog, digging his teeth into its haunches. When a policeman asked him for an explanation, he said that the dog was his and he could bite it if he wanted to—and he was kindly taken to a hospital for observation.

If the State Department ever asks us to outline our opinion about what to do anywhere, we're going out and bite the nearest policeman and explain, when he asks us why, that we are breaking in a new hypothesis.

*

ACCORDING TO TRYGVE LIE we are again at the crossroads (with everybody, he might have added, getting crosser all the time). This department has long since given up objecting to the use of Basic Cliché by statesmen and politicians, but it is convinced that we will never get off the horns of the dilemma, negotiate the turning points of history, come to grips with reality, or bring order out of chaos as long as statesmen and politicians go on confusing the issue, misleading the common man, and muddying the waters of public opinions by announcing our arrival at the crossroads when they really mean a fork.

*

IT MAY BE the old Charles Addams in us, but Hollywood's latest trend in "entertainment" stirs us to the same grim hilarity with which we first heard the tale about the man who was buried in quicksand up to his neck but who when asked if he wanted help replied cheerily, "No, I've got a good horse under me."

The trend was unveiled when Columbia Pictures released a film called "No Sad Songs for Me," in which Margaret Sullavan depicts a woman who is fatally ill of cancer. And we are now looking forward to staying away from a whole series of films in which our top stars will impersonate the victims of other fatal diseases. According to Bosley Crowther of the New York *Times*,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kramer is doing one on paraplegics, Twentieth-Century Fox is doing bubonic plague, and the makers of "No Sad Songs" are adding smallpox and leprosy to their list. Knowing Hollywood's passion for cycles, we are sure it won't let its new subject go without treating the minor ailments. And we might just break down and go to see Betty Grable in "Virus X."

*

AN AD FOR RAIN outfits calls them "Weather Vain Coordimates." Just for the pun of it we've revised the old song:

For it's always good weather
When coordimates get together
With a Gertrude Stein on the table
And a James Joyce ringing clear

WHEN YOU CALL certain movie houses in New York you are greeted by a bright box-office voice saying, "Movies are better than ever."

*

THE FOLLOWING ITEM in its entirety appeared recently in the *New Yorker*

ANTARCTIC SHIP RETURNS
Norsel Reaches Capetown After
Being Damaged by Ice Pacts
—headline in the *Times*

Very deceptive thing, a pact.

The *New Yorker*, usually so informative, neglected to point out that ice pacts came in with the cold war.

M. M.

Glen Taylor Rides Again

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Boise, Idaho, May 11

IN 1948 Henry Wallace and Glen H. Taylor, as heads of the Progressive Party ticket, polled 4,972 votes in Idaho. This was less than the vote for some state legislators running in districts up remote canyons and in the rugged hills. People wrote off Taylor's prospects for reelection to the Senate in 1950. True, Burton K. Wheeler had been returned to the Senate by neighboring Montana after he abandoned the Democratic Party to run with the elder La Follette in 1924. But La Follette and Wheeler had received a substantial 36 per cent of Montana's vote, which contrasted strongly with the puny 2 per cent collected in Idaho by Henry Wallace and his Idaho running-mate.

Today the forty-five-year-old Taylor—cowboy melodies, paint pony, and all—has definitely a chance to win another term in the Senate. He owes it to the death late in 1949 of his Democratic colleague, Bert H. Miller, and to Governor C. A. Robins's choice of Henry Dworshak as Miller's successor. Both local and national Democratic leaders are reluctant to jeopardize the other Senate seat by plunging the party into a fierce fight over Taylor's 1948 apostasy.

Dworshak's appointment shook this mountain state. During his previous term in the Senate he had shown himself to be an unyielding Republican reactionary and isolationist. He was beaten by Miller for reelection, though the latter's age and position on the Idaho Supreme Court kept him from making an active campaign. Yet the ink was barely blotted on the certification of this balloting when the Governor put Dworshak back into the seat he had lost at the polls. Even staunch conservatives were horrified by this travesty of democratic government. The traditionally Republican *Idaho Statesman* wondered "how Mr. Dworshak could accept the appointment, considering the circumstances."

All this has been manna from heaven for Taylor. Idaho and Connecticut are the two states which will elect both their United States Senators in November. Dworshak as the G. O. P. nominee for the other Idaho seat will be a useful foil for the left-wing cowboy. Trade unions and Izaak Walton Leagues have Dworshak ticketed as a stooge for big business, whether it seeks at the moment to cut wages or to ravage the last grassy meadow in the Bitterroots.

If Taylor is nominated in the Democratic primary on August 8, his Republican adversary in the fall will probably be Governor Robins, who is barred by the state constitution from succeeding himself. Around Robins's neck will be the albatross of the Dworshak appointment. He will also be injured by the scandals in which his liquor-control administration has been recently involved. These will counteract the beneficial effects of his crusade against organized gambling.

In the primary Taylor will face D. Worth Clark, who lost his seat in the Senate when Taylor edged him out by a handful of votes in the 1944 primary. Clark stayed on in Washington and for several years was a law partner of Tommy Corcoran. Later he undertook a China mission for a Senate subcommittee and re-

---

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon journalist and state senator. He writes frequently for The Nation *on political events in the Northwest.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turned with demands for vast sums to aid Chiang Kai-shek's government. His candidacy will enormously complicate the political struggle. His connections with the China lobby may even bring the McCarthy charges into the campaign. Although nominally a Democrat, Clark followed a consistently isolationist course when he was a Senator. In fact, he said at first he was undecided whether to file this year as a Democrat or a Republican.

Idaho has an open primary. A citizen may vote for the candidates of either party. Clark obviously hopes many Republicans will cross over to help him eliminate Taylor, and they may do so if there is no bitter struggle in the G. O. P. primary. Clark is personally popular, and he bears an honored name in the state. However, he must surmount two obstacles. One is the fact that he shook Idaho's volcanic dust from his feet immediately upon his rejection at the polls in 1944. The other is that Professor Claude Burtenshaw of Ricks College, a well-known Mormon school, may enter the Democratic primaries and split the anti-Taylor vote. Burtenshaw is a brilliant young orator, and the Clark forces will make every effort to bring about his withdrawal.

IT IS already evident that the campaign will not be conducted at a high level of statesmanship. Taylor seems determined to prove that *Time* did not err in listing him as one of the Senate's eight "expendables." After constantly attacking the Truman Administration for not going far enough in 1948, he recently told the Boise chapter of the American Association of University Women that perhaps the President's health-insurance bill went too far. A good deal more significant is the fact that although he generally supports Truman's domestic program, he still holds the strongly isolationist views which he expressed as Henry Wallace's running-mate. Speaking to a crowd in the Idaho "panhandle" recently, he described his difficulties in getting appropriations for the Lewiston orchards project. "We send all our money abroad to bolster up shaky governments that are on the verge of going communistic anyhow," he said, "and yet we refuse to spend any money to develop this country. Our roads are in terrible shape. Our forests are being taken over and destroyed by pests. Poisonous weeds are spoiling our range lands. And yet we—oh, well, I guess there's no use talking about it!"

Some liberal Democrats feel extremely suspicious of him. An administrator on the tree-dotted campus of Idaho College said to me, "I'm going to vote for Glen Taylor just because the Republican Party in this state is so antediluvian. But I can't help wondering what Taylor would do if Henry Wallace or someone else decided to put together a Progressive Party ticket again in 1952." It may be, however, that Taylor's demagogic attacks on the Marshall Plan will help him. Idaho is not a state where internationalism thrives. Within this stockade of alpine summits the Borah tradition endures persistently. Idaho once sent an all-out advocate of world cooperation to Washington—Senator James P. Pope, who sponsored the World Court resolution for Roosevelt. Pope lasted a single term. The lesson was not lost on Idaho politicians. Glen Taylor wins impressive rounds of applause when he mourns that although he can't get $4,500,000 for the Forest Service to eradicate spruce budworms, the State Department can wangle $3,000,000,000 to hand out to European nations.

In 1944, without campaign funds or party support, Taylor won the senatorship by defeating one of the most consistent vote-getters of the Idaho G. O. P., Governor C. A. Bottolfson. He spoke his piece without pussyfooting on everything from the Union Pacific to the War Relocation Authority. This year he seems to be a good deal more cautious. He is picking his spots and being careful not to offend important local interests. Although he has been involved for nearly two years in a Birmingham, Alabama, case concerning the rights of Negroes, he has gingerly avoided any direct participation in the Idaho agitation against the sentencing of four Indians to fourteen years in prison for stealing a sheep. The conviction that the only good Indian is a dead Indian persists in the Idaho backwoods, and evidently Taylor doesn't want to antagonize any group before he gets another Senate term in his kitbag.

This worries some of the Senator's friends. They believe that timidity and prudence are frequently fatal to a public figure whose stock in trade has been valor and forthrightness. On some of his recent statewide broadcasts Taylor has talked more about Mrs. Vollmer's winter-raised pansies than about CVA.

Taylor will be supported by labor because of his liberal voting record. The A. F. of L., C. I O., and Railroad Brotherhoods have indorsed him. The opposition of the press is somewhat diluted by the *Statesman's* constant criticism of Dworshak. More than a thousand Democrats attended a reception which Taylor gave for Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico at the Boise Hotel after the Jefferson Day dinner. Many of these men had sworn undying vengeance after Taylor's desertion of the party in 1948, but they managed to carry off the handshake gracefully enough.

It is not that they love Taylor more but that they love Dworshak less. With two senatorships to pick up, Idaho Democrats will back the Progressives' Vice-Presidential nominee if he is the party's candidate. This fact, above any other, gives Glen Taylor a reelection chance which did not seem possible two years ago, when he faced political oblivion along with his allies of the Progressive Party.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

Who's Doing What to Whom?

[*The following letter is substituted this week for the Observers' regular comment.*]

DEAR OBSERVERS: As a man whose grasp on his immediate liberty hangs, at this writing, on the tenuous thread of a petition for rehearing before the Supreme Court, I have a complaint to register. If I have to spend a year in jail, I'd like it to be clearly understood what I am being punished for. It seems to me, with all the objectivity I can still muster on the subject, that the ten of us involved in the Hollywood contempt cases are being imprisoned for our beliefs, real or suspected—that writers, primarily, are being silenced and their works, past and future, censored. I cannot bring myself to embrace the specious distinction between compulsory disclosure of opinion and outright coercion of opinion. And I resent the attempt of my government to maintain that such persecution is still unthinkable in America.

I find it particularly annoying that whatever success this deception may have is accomplished by a conscious abuse of a basic constitutional principle: the separation of powers among the three branches of government. Instead of checking and balancing each other, the branches in this instance resemble a three-ring circus, each contributing to the over-all effect but none of them watching what the others are doing or assuming responsibility for the performance as a whole.

The process of buck-passing, in our kind of case, goes like this. Congress can't legislate in the area of free speech and communication, but it claims the power to investigate anything, including the minds of any and all Americans. When a Congressional committee tries to impose censorship and black list on a private industry, it really isn't doing anything illegal, because Congress in itself has no punitive authority to enforce such a demand. But if anyone shows an unwillingness to cooperate with the program, the ball suddenly shows up in the hands of the executive branch.

The Department of Justice, taking over at this point, has no interest in what Congress was up to and is indisposed to argue such irrelevancies in court. The First Amendment, it would have you know, is a restriction on the functions of Congress and hardly a matter of concern to the executive. All that is involved here is a question of whether ten citizens from Hollywood did or did not conform to the wording of a particular federal statute in Washington in October, 1947.

And finally, the judiciary gets into the act. The position we took before the House Un-American Activities Committee was based in large part on a series of Supreme Court decisions going back to 1881 and including the language of six of the judges on the court at the time of our appearance. Those decisions expressly upheld the right of personal privacy and set rigid limitations on the power of inquiry, and it seemed to us, even though two of those six men died before the case reached the court, that the judges must be impressed by our argument.

We may have been right. By denying certiorari, the court merely says it chooses not to discuss a particular question at a particular moment, its reasons for that choice remaining open to speculation. In the words of Justice Frankfurter, "this court has rigorously insisted that such a denial carries with it no implication whatever regarding the court's views on the merits of a case which it has declined to review." A certain type of legal mind may appreciate this nicety. Men who are sent to jail by it do not.

The separation of powers has become so extreme at this stage that the victim is at a loss to know who is responsible for his fate. Can he reproach the judges for leaving the issue delicately suspended in mid-air? Of course not, for they have no official awareness of what is happening in the legislative and executive branches these days. Their mere physical presence in Washington doesn't insure their judicial cognizance of the terror that now exists there. They can't be called to account for the actions of larcenous legislators from New Jersey or psychopathic Senators from Wisconsin, or for an Attorney General who urges the American people to spy on one another.

Least of all can one accuse them of having a hand in sending men to jail for their personal beliefs or written words. That isn't done in America. It isn't done by the courts, or by Congress, or by the Department of Justice. So who is doing what to whom? And what is anybody complaining about?

RING LARDNER, JR.

HOT-BLOODED FAT-HEADED
ANTI-RED HUNT
Sure, Joe, I get you! I start 'em up and they're off to disunity and confusion. Tallyho! Anything to weaken Democracy!
LOPEZ

MAYDAY MEET

London *Daily Herald*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Scramble for Africa

BY R. K. COPE

Johannesburg, May 1

THE Union of South Africa, defying the United Nations, has incorporated the former mandated territory of Southwest Africa. The next step toward rounding off a minor empire of a million square miles will be to get the British government to hand over the three High Commission territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, which are roughly equivalent in extent and population to Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico. They contain much desert and mountain land but also rich human and natural resources.

Dr. Malan's claim to this region has a semblance of legality. Great Britain set up the Union of South Africa in a hurry shortly before the First World War, assigning to it the role of checking German activities in the Dark Continent. Many questions were left open, one being the future of the three territories. The British government wrote into the South Africa Act (the Union constitution) a section envisaging the eventual transfer of the territories by agreement. Twenty-five years later Prime Minister Hertzog, Malan's predecessor as leader of the Afrikaner Nationalists, went to London to stake his claim but returned without accomplishing it. Political ideas had developed in a quarter of a century. Britain insisted that the wishes of the Bantu peoples should be consulted. This idea has infuriated Union politicians ever since, for South Africans do not believe in consulting Bantu opinion about anything.

Premier Malan is expected to renew the demand on London this year, and his prospects are not so poor as some may think. The British decision not to act without hearing the views of the natives was a sop to the home elector and does not square with colonial practice. But if the British government adheres to its position, honestly conducts a referendum and respects its result, there is not the remotest likelihood that Malan or any white government in South Africa will ever get Basutoland, Bechuanaland, or Swaziland. The black tribesmen—chiefs and commoners, popular leaders and religious heads—are fanatical in their opposition. Annexation hangs over them like a nightmare.

There is, however, a deep-seated paradox in the situation which Malan will not be slow to exploit. The three territories are actually in the process of being slowly digested by the Union, with British connivance, and the day may not be far off when formal annexation will come as a concluding formality. The territories are virtually surrounded by the Union; they are inseparable from its economy, its geography, and its ethnic and linguistic stocks. Their existence as administrative units is the result of historical accident. South Africa controls their customs, post office, and banking and currency, and they are administered largely for the benefit of employers of labor in the Union. Conditions vary from one to another, but their peoples share a common lot of poverty, economic decline, and social disintegration.

THE Basuto stand in a special position. Their country is a mountainous island in the middle of the Union. They were never conquered in the many colonial wars that raged around them, but at last they appealed to Britain to save them. They were taken over as British subjects, and this status has been their safeguard from what they feared would be a worse destiny. For sixty years British administration has been a story of neglect. There is today not a single industry in the country; though its population of rather more than half a million is declining, its limited arable land cannot support the people. For generations they have been forced by taxes to send their men to work outside the country, principally in the gold mines of the Rand. British investments in South African gold shares have determined the fate of the Basuto. Always 40 per cent of the able men are away from their homes, earning in the Union scarcely one-tenth of the white worker's pay. Since few of the Basuto, after taxation, have enough to live on, they drift into the slums and work camps of South Africa.

British administration uses the system of indirect rule, under which chiefs are given limited authority and official incomes. This system is breaking down together with the general disintegration of tribal institutions. The chiefs naturally support the British connection, much as the Indian princes backed imperialism, but popular opinion is increasingly opposed to British rule and to the chiefs. Such organizations as the Lekgotla la Bafo, a peasant league, find the people respond to the demand for self-rule, are against South Africa and against Britain.

Although the Basuto are forced to work, they are not continually harassed by the police, and their relations with officials on the spot are marked by civility and good-will. Well-intentioned but meager efforts are made to protect the eroded fields and pastures; there is a pathetic officially sponsored movement to introduce the spinning-wheel and hand-loom as compensation for the lack of industry. Crime is negligible, amounting to

---

R. K. COPE is a South African poet and journalist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4 convictions a year per 1,000 population, whereas the Bantu in the Union are among the most punished people in the world, with 87 convictions a year per 1,000. The Basuto know well that this backward but comparatively easygoing life would vanish should their country be annexed by the Union.

SOCIAL conditions in Bechuanaland, a huge stretch of desert and semi-arid country, are if anything still more backward, and the negative British policy of letting the country slip into South Africa's hands is more clearly discernible. There is only one secondary school—built by the natives themselves—for a population of a third of a million. The average corn crop is two and a half bushels per acre, hardly returning the seed used, though simple experiments have shown that yields can be increased 1,000 per cent.

The territory's attention has recently been centered on the marriage of Seretse Khama, head of the largest Bechuana tribe, to a charming and intelligent English girl. Dr. Malan has expressed horror at this violation of the color bar and has prohibited Seretse and his wife from entering the Union. The prohibition is serious because the administrative capital of Bechuanaland is at Mafeking in the Union. The great tribal council accepted the marriage with enthusiasm, but the British government bowed to Malan's pressure and appointed a commission to investigate Seretse's un-South African act. Whether he will rule as chief in the future will depend on how far Britain will go in response to Union demands. It would embarrass Dr. Malan and any Nationalist successor to annex a large tribe headed by a chief who formed a mixed union, when such a marriage is a punishable crime in South Africa.

The Swazis are close relatives of the Zulus, living adjacent to them in a country so fertile and well-watered that Swazi doctors are famed as rain-makers. Through bogus contracts and concessions squeezed from chiefs in the past, whites own more than half the land and absentee landlordism is common. Of the three territories, only Swaziland has a naturally increasing number of inhabitants. Soil fertility and the allocation of unoccupied Crown lands have helped to support the growing population, but more important has been the development of mines and small industries. The country is incalculably rich in minerals and could undergo great industrial development. Its resources have so far only been scratched, and it has no railways. The most important enterprise is an American-owned asbestos mine, one of the largest producers in the world. Wages of the workers here are low, practically the same as in the Rand gold mines. The value of raw asbestos mined is five times the annual wage bill. Education in Swaziland is less adequate than in the Union or the other territories. The presence of some 3,000 white landowners and traders has introduced more acute color and racial discrimination than elsewhere. A sure index of this is the rate of criminal convictions in the courts, which is six times higher in Swaziland than in Basutoland.

The future of more than a million Bantu emerging into an era of literacy and material progress does not seem too bright. They have nothing to gain and everything to lose from being annexed by South Africa. In the last resort they might offer armed resistance to a transfer of rule, and this could be the signal for a widespread black revolt. Yet the continuation of the present unstable conditions is thoroughly undesirable. If the interests of the people are taken into account, education and capital development must be supplied, with the eventual aim of granting them a guaranteed self-rule. But Great Britain has no money and no will to pursue such a policy.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Twenty-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

WHAT will be the future of F. Scott Fitzgerald? This query has been futilely repeated whenever a new book from his pen has appeared, since the initial interrogation which greeted the publication of that sophomoric masterpiece, "This Side of Paradise." It will be asked more earnestly than before by prescient readers of "The Great Gatsby," who will recognize therein a quality which has only recently made its debut in the writings of this brilliant young author, the quality vaguely referred to as mysticism. Moreover this is a fine yarn, exhilaratingly spun. . . .

This character, and the theme of the book in general, would have appealed to Henry James. In fact, it did appeal to Henry James. In one way or another this motif is woven into the tapestry of a score or more of his stories. In "Daisy Miller" you may find it complete. It is the theme of a soiled or rather cheap personality transfigured and rendered pathetically appealing through the possession of a passionate idealism. Although the comparison may be still further stressed, owing to the fact that Mr. Fitzgerald has chosen, as James so frequently chose, to see his story through the eyes of a spectator, it will be readily apparent that what he has done he has done in his own way, and that seems to me, in this instance, to be a particularly good way. . . .

When I read "Absolution" in the *American Mercury* I realized that there were many potential qualities inherent in Scott Fitzgerald which hitherto had not been too apparent. "The Great Gatsby" confirms this earlier impression. What Mr. Fitzgerald may do in the future, therefore, I am convinced, depends to an embarrassing extent on the nature of his own ambitions.

CARL VAN VECHTEN—*May 20, 1925.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides

THE USES OF TRANSLATION

BY MARK VAN DOREN

ONE piece of pedantry we have with us always—a book is not read well unless it is read in its native tongue. Some go farther and say that only then is it read at all: Homer in English has nothing left of his greatness. And so with Dante. And so, presumably, with Cervantes, Rabelais, Montaigne, Pascal, Voltaire, Rousseau, Stendhal, Balzac, and Proust; so with Tolstoy and Dostoevsky; so with Ibsen; so with Goethe; so with Plutarch; so with Lucretius; so with Plato and Aristotle; so with Herodotus and Thucydides; so with St. Augustine and St. Thomas; so with Machiavelli and Molière. So too, of course, with the Bible. If you cannot read Hebrew you will never know anything about Abraham, and if you are not a master of first-century Greek you will have no notion of what Jesus said.

The list, which could be longer, itself reveals the pedantry. Many a person, speaking thus, forgets in his pride of knowing Greek that he knows no Hebrew; or, if he knows some Russian, that he did as a matter of fact first feel Raskolnikov's force through the English of Constance Garnett; or, granting that he reads Russian as Russians do, that he did once, in a moment of inadvertence, enjoy Li Po by way of Ezra Pound. But this is not the biggest mistake he makes. His true crime—the word is scarcely too strong—consists in his ignorance of how the literature of the world has exerted its power. It has exerted it—in the world—by being translated. Only great writers, to be sure, can be translated without deadly loss; the others, having at best a minor, a local virtue, die promptly in foreign air. But it is the great writers that count in the great world; for the great world understands, as none other does, the language of literature. There is the English language, but a few who have used it wrote also in the human tongue, and that tongue—witness Shakespeare—can be comprehended anywhere. Even we who are most vain of our knowledge that Shakespeare wrote English as no one else ever has can also take pleasure in contemplating that the Germans once did, and the Russians now do, consider him their best poet. To insist that he is only ours would be to deny his ultimate distinction. It would be, in fact, to expose our incapacity to see what that distinction is. It would prove that we read him badly even in English, as many classical scholars read Homer badly in Greek. They read him, that is to say, without suspecting his immense, his humorous, his natural, his wise, his temperate, his courageous power.

A recent translation of "Don Quixote" has been recommended as the first such translation to render in English the true meaning of that tremendous masterpiece. Those who say this, and by a certain logic they should add that "Don Quixote" should not have been translated at all, tell us that only now can we know—well, what the whole world has known about Cervantes for three hundred years. Comedy at its deepest and best is not a Spanish thing, it is a human thing, it is an intellectual and emotional thing, and somehow neither Fielding nor Dickens missed it; not to speak of a million other readers in whose minds the influence of Cervantes will never be traced. The influence of great literature is universal, and in the course of things works through translation. The Romans did not understand all the Greek they turned into Latin, but without the part they did understand they would have had no literature at all. The Elizabethan Age was ushered in by translations of Plutarch, Montaigne, Seneca, Ovid, and many another ancient or foreign writer without access to whom Shakespeare, for instance, would have been poorer. I have never heard it seriously suggested that he should not have tried his hand at "Julius Caesar" and "Antony and Cleopatra" because North's Plutarch was the only Plutarch he could read. Dryden's Virgil and Homer's Pope created an age of English poetry, just as French translations of English books caused 1789, and just as English translations of German books caused Transcendentalism.

I am told that I cannot know what Aristotle is saying in his "Poetics" unless my Greek is perfect, but I must refuse to believe this. I must admit, to be sure, the difficulty of rendering each term precisely as that greatest of literary critics intended it. But another sort of precision in him nobody can miss. It is the precision that guards his mind against the blunder of leaving any important consideration out as he decides what poetry—we would say story—at its fullest is. A complete story, he certainly is saying, will be good in its language, its characters, its scene, its sentiments, its ideas, and its plot—most of all its plot, which is its very soul, and indeed is always the thing an unwise poet manages worst. Modern criticism can praise a novelist or a playwright for one of these virtues alone, and regularly does. To do so is not to ask him for enough, and in the long run is not to get enough. Literature dries up without a living memory of what it is that happens when it uses all its power. Here, finally, is the one use of translation that outmeasures the others. It keeps us open to greatness wherever it may be, and it may be anywhere. As one literature withers another revives it; as one nation of writers forgets its chief business another nation shows it has remembered. Translation keeps literature going in the world. It always has, and it always will unless the pedants have their way. Of course they will not have their way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Debate with Millikan

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT A. MILLIKAN. Prentice-Hall. $4.50.

ROBERT A. MILLIKAN, Greek scholar, gymnasium director, physicist, administrator, is that rarest phenomenon, the normal man. His life has been long, active, happy; its zest remains unabated in the sunset hours. I shall show my respect for Dr. Millikan's vigor by treating him, not as an Olympian, but as though he were a mere stripling of seventy like myself. I need not praise his achievements, or his book: his story was well worth telling, and it is well told. I should like to make this review a friendly debate between humanist and scientist.

Dr. Millikan's most startling thesis is this:

> I suspect that the changes that have taken place during the last century in the average man's fundamental beliefs, in his philosophy, in his conception of religion, in his whole world outlook, are greater than the changes that occurred during the preceding four thousand years put together. Why has it been so? Unquestionably because of the growth, since the middle of the nineteenth century, in man's knowledge and control of Nature —that is, *because of science and its application to human life.*

This I categorically challenge. I see no trace of intellectual or moral progress in our age compared with the

THE ORIENT EXPRESS

One looks from the train
Almost as one looked as a child. In the sunlight
What I see still seems to me plain,
I am safe; but at evening
As the lands darken, a questioning
Precariousness comes over everything.

Once after a day of rain
I lay longing to be cold; and after a while
I was cold again, and hunched shivering
Under the quilt's many colors, gray
With the dull ending of the winter day.
Outside me there were a few shapes
Of chairs and tables, things from a primer;
Outside the window
There were the chairs and tables of the world . . .
I saw that the world
That had seemed to me the plain
Gray mask of all that was strange
Behind it—of all that *was*—was all.

But it is beyond belief.
One thinks, "Behind everything
An unforced joy, an unwilling
Sadness (a willing sadness, a forced joy)
Moves changelessly"; one looks from the train
And there is something, the same thing
Behind everything: all these little villages,
A passing woman, a field of grain,
The man who says goodby to his wife—
A path through a wood all full of lives, and the train
Passing, after all unchangeable
And not now ever to stop, like a heart—

It is like any other work of art.
It is and never can be changed.
Behind everything there is always
The unknown unwanted life.

RANDALL JARRELL

Still the most complete report to come out of Germany

THE HIGH COST OF VENGEANCE

By FREDA UTLEY

THIS startling report on conditions in post-war Germany has brought forth high praise, some attacks and a great deal of talk ever since its publication last fall. Every American owes it to himself to read this book to find out, *in detail*, just what is "going on" in Germany.

"Timely and valuable. . . . Nobody who pretends to have an intelligent interest in our foreign policy should fail to read it."—*W. L. White.*

"A slashing indictment of military government in Germany, in which no favorites are played—her approach to the German problem will be a trial to the emotionally thin-skinned. . . . But it deserves wide and thoughtful reading." —*W. H. Chamberlin.*

$3.50

At your bookstore, or direct from
HENRY REGNERY CO.
20 W. Jackson Chicago 4

New **DOLLAR BOOKS**
now available by mail!

SIMPLE SPEAKS HIS MIND

by Langston Hughes

"Not since Finley Peter Dunne wrote his immortal Mr. Dooley sketches has anyone used casual dialogues to discuss issues of the day as effectively as Langston Hughes does in 'Simple Speaks His Mind.' Outwardly the book is a collection of entertaining Harlem conversations. Inwardly it is better than a dozen vast and weighty and piously pompous studies in race relations. . . ." —*Charles Poore*, N. Y. TIMES.

"SIMPLE SPEAKS HIS MIND" and the five other NEW books listed below are now available in $1.00 editions (soft-cover binding). We pay postage. To be sure of getting your copy, clip and mail this coupon today!

BOOK MAIL SERVICE, Dept. 4
West Hempstead, N. Y.

Enclosed is $_____. Please send me, postpaid, the $1.00 Readers' Editions I have checked below:

☐ SIMPLE SPEAKS HIS MIND by Langston Hughes
☐ THE CARDINAL by Henry Morton Robinson
☐ THE COMPANY OF MEN by Romain Gary
☐ ONE WINTER IN BOSTON by Robert Smith
☐ HOW TO PLAY BETTER TENNIS by Wm. Tilden
☐ HOMEWARD BORNE by Ruth Chatterton

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eighteenth century. Dr. Millikan quotes an admirable passage from Montesquieu: "If I knew something profitable to my country and detrimental to Europe, or profitable to Europe and detrimental to the human race, I would consider it a crime." These words are far ahead of the thought of our present leaders in business, politics, or even science. Indeed, I have reasons to doubt whether Dr. Millikan himself is quite so "enlightened" as, say, Fontenelle or Condorcet, not to mention Jefferson.

In politics Dr. Millikan radically condemns nationalism, which became most virulent in the scientific age and in the most scientific of all countries, Germany. In his rigorous but not unjustified criticism of Woodrow Wilson he blames unmitigated self-determination as intensifying nationalism. (Incidentally, he deals a shrewd blow at political Zionism.) But he retains in his own heart the very essence of nationalism—pride, self-righteousness, with force as the final argument. He believes in Anglo-Saxon superiority as an axiom. He thinks the old League gave too much power to the smaller nations: the Big Five, Three, or Two should have control, because they have power. Power politics naked and unashamed: it means that Russia counts, and Norway does not. The quest for power inevitably leads to the test of power, which is war. Is not this *realistic*, that is, scientific? But in our country is *force*—courts, police, armaments—officially in the hands of the Big Men, the Rockefellers and the du Ponts de Nemours? In his opinion the "peace-loving peoples"—we and our satellites—should impose their will upon the "bandits"—the others. But the others are using exactly the same words. The scientific spirit would require an impartial, a dispassionate, a disinterested inquiry. The Greeks called all foreigners barbarians, and so did the Chinese: but that was in the pre-scientific era. Getting tough without taking thought—getting tough means stifling thought—is a primitive, not a scientific, process.

In economics Dr. Millikan is radically opposed to socialism, which I define as the Christian spirit in terms of the machine age. He exposes "the fundamental fallacy of communistic economics." Pragmatically, America, a capitalist country, is immensely richer than the Soviet Union. The criterion is crude for a man used to measurements in thousandths of millimeters. Al Capone grew far wealthier than Einstein. Dr. Millikan himself, who with his gifts could have been a multimillionaire at forty, was satisfied with a modest salary. He luminously defines socialism as a "system which by artificial means substitutes a selection of the unfit in place of a selection of the best in character and brains for leadership." (In my opinion, this definition applies perfectly to party politics.) But the army, which is run on strictly socialistic principles, evolved such leaders as Marshall, Eisenhower, MacArthur.

In religion Dr. Millikan's chief concern is to bolster up the survivals of the pre-scientific age, the orthodox churches. The "Joint Statement upon the relations of science and religion, by a group of scientists, religious leaders, and men of affairs" beats even the Thirty-nine Articles as a masterpiece of wilful ambiguity. Its first purpose is to show that religion does not stand today for medieval theology. But St. Thomas simply put into faultless form the thought of the Fathers: take away "medieval theology" from our present creeds, and what remains but sheer agnosticism? (Agnosticism, by the way, is really Dr. Millikan's own position.) Science does not reject a priori everything that is not material, or materially demonstrable, but science rejects everything which in the guise of religion is actually legendary history or primitive science. Let Dr. Millikan honestly apply scientific tests to the pseudo-scien-

We asked for unconditional surrender—

and gave our enemies the courage of despair

We called for the war crimes trials—

and damaged the way to international justice

If we are to have peace we must learn to think in terms of peace!

A top British diplomat talks out calmly, with full knowledge, on Allied policies of the war and their far-reaching effects, in

Politics Trials and Errors

By LORD HANKEY
20 years Secretary to all British Cabinets

$2.50 At bookstores, or from

HENRY REGNERY CO., Chicago

An Important Book for the Layman

CONSTRUCTIVE USES OF

ATOMIC ENERGY

Edited by S. C. Rothman

Potentialities of atomic energy for the service of mankind rather than for destruction are here set forth in a unique book for the layman.

Nobel-Prize winner Arthur H. Compton starts off the book with a brilliant and thoughtful discussion of "Atomic Energy as a Human Asset," and other outstanding authorities on nuclear research describe in non-technical language how the atom is being put to work in industry, aviation, metallurgy, ceramics, soil fertilizers, and in chemical, biological, pharmaceutical, and medical research. A highly useful glossary of scientific terms involved in the discussion of atomic energy is a feature of the book.

258 Pages **$3.00**

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS

49 East 33rd Street **New York 16, New York**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tific aspects of religion, and his episcopal cosigners will be appalled. Science can certainly not indorse the anthropomorphic hypothesis—"If God made man in His own image, man returned the compliment." Yet it is exactly this pre-scientific conception that we find in the joint statement. Lucretius knew better than that.

In politics, international affairs, economics, religion, Dr. Millikan is a perfectly preserved specimen of that sturdy species the middle-class, Middle Western, mid-nineteenth-century American. He is the peer and companion of Nicholas Murray Butler and Herbert Hoover. No small praise; in the gathering darkness we are beginning to regret Herbert Hoover and Nicholas Murray Butler. ALBERT GUERARD

Proust: A Rounded Portrait

PROUST: PORTRAIT OF A GENIUS. By André Maurois. Harper and Brothers. $4.50.

PROUST'S WAY. By François Mauriac. Philosophical Library. $3.

PROUST, though not yet "revaluated," continues to be read. And because his writing fed upon and sapped his life, he has attracted critic and biographer alike: a new book on Proust is not a portent. We have had Proust the psychologist, the quasi-Bergsonian, the critic of painting and music; Proust the dandy, the invert, the snob and hater of snobs, the legendary recluse in a cork-lined room.

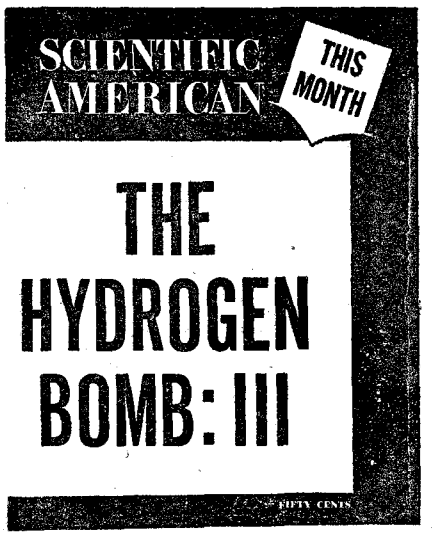
In "Proust: Portrait of a Genius," André Maurois is concerned with both the human being and the artist, with the true and the fictive Marcel. Still blending biography and criticism, he is more trustworthy than usual: there are no fabricated conversations in this book, and few *argumenta ad feminam*. Without losing his habitual grace Maurois becomes scholarly and recreates Proust the man by drawing unobtrusively upon many sources, including the seldom read juvenilia and hitherto unpublished letters and family memoirs. He treats Proust with understanding and tact, never simplifying, never gossiping. He evokes Proust's heroism and frailty, his very physical presence—or rather presences: the young Oriental prince and the middle-aged, untidy asthmatic. He also evokes Proust's entourage, from the too tender and fastidious mother to the arbiters of French society and literature.

As a critic of Proust's writing Maurois admittedly derives much from his predecessors—his bibliography is impressive and useful. But he handles the mass of Proustian exegesis with the ease of familiarity. If not new, his discussion of Proustian time, memory, and personality is cogent, and he finds the fallacy in Proust's persuasive and disenchanting ratiocinations on love. Ignoring no important qualities—Proust's famous imagery or often forgotten humor—Maurois clarifies the structure of "Remembrance of Things Past" by likening it to a medieval church which betrays its Roman simplicity through the elaborations of centuries.

We have here analysis, interpretation, and appreciation. Some may find that Maurois discusses Proust's work without assessing its place in the tangled history of the modern novel. Others will be disappointed by a conspicuous absence of Freudian psychologizing. Still others may complain that Maurois over-clarifies his difficult subject. Some may, in short, find his method old-fashioned. But "Remembrance of Things Past" is perhaps not a novel; Proust may be closer to Saint-Simon than to Freud; his complexity need not imply obscurity; he experimented in a traditional manner. Maurois' critical method fits its subject. There are, however, overtones of hagiography. Maurois' secret sympathy with the man—whose shortcomings he does not minimize—becomes a canonization of the artist.

Those who value the urbanity and completeness of Maurois' book may be disconcerted by François Mauriac's "Proust's Way." This anxious little volume is written around Proust rather than about him. Here Mauriac has gathered eight informal essays on Proust and a few of his contemporaries—notably the great editor Jacques Rivière. Because some of these were written for periodicals over a period of twenty-five years, the book is uneven in quality, disjointed, often confusing; yet sometimes illuminating and moving.

Brooding over Proust's deathbed, Mauriac sees not so much the artist as the man; the man's soul more than his mind. But he is sporadically attracted by



Alone among U. S. magazines, SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN is conducting a searching examination of the proposed super-weapon and the moral, social, political and military issues which it raises. Robert Bacher, scientific member of the Atomic Energy Commission, takes up some of the most disturbing questions about this undertaking in the May issue. This article continues the discussion started by Louis Ridenour and Hans A. Bethe in the pages of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN. These articles present the only authoritative and documented statement of knowledge on the H-Bomb in the public domain. To be sure you receive the May issue, return the coupon below today.

FREE Take advantage of the Second Anniversary Offer below, enclosing cash, and the May issue will be added free to your subscription.

More than 100,000 new subscribers have discovered the *new* SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN. Addressed to the interested layman, articles in SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN are written by foremost scientists and engineers. Soundly edited, richly illustrated and printed, this remarkable new magazine fills urgent need for an authoritative and readable account of progress in all departments of science.

Accept this Anniversary Offer—nine months of the *new* SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN for only $3.00, saving you $1.50 from the single copy price (10 months for cash with order). *The May issue will be sent to you at once.*

MAIL THIS COUPON
SAVE MONEY — 9 MONTHS FOR $3.00
STARTING WITH THE MAY ISSUE
THE NEW SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN
24 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

Please enter my Anniversary subscription at the special rate of 9 months for $3.00, starting with the May issue.

☐ Payment enclosed* ☐ Bill me later

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

*Save us billing cost by sending payment now, and May issue will be added FREE to your subscription.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the novels, and alternately sees Proust as the greatest moralist in literature and as a vain investigator of ashes; as the first writer of his age and as a man from whose work God is terribly absent. Proust appears, moreover, as the arch-tempter of his time, with Rivière as a principal victim. Although the temptation remains undefined, the four essays on Rivière are the best in the book. For in him met not only the literary but also the religious cross-currents of the time: from a distance he seems like Mankind in a morality play, fought over by Claudel and Gide, the good and evil angels. Seeing Rivière more closely, Mauriac writes of him with subtlety and compassion, describing his "lover's quarrels with God" and his artist's fear of losing his originality in submission to the church. Mauriac does not write *ex cathedra,* and he overlays the intransigence of the believer with the pity of the fellow-sufferer. Finally, his essays are more than a character study: he often leaves Rivière to meditate on the intermittences of faith in a tone whose tormented sincerity recalls Pascal. As a study of Proust this book is scanty. As a revelation of Mauriac and Rivière—fragmentary yet intimate—it may invite us to return to their works.

Elsie Pell's translation of Mauriac is not always happy; following the French syntax strictly, she falls into obscurities. Gerard Hopkins's translation of Maurois, on the other hand, has the clarity and elegance of the original. We have perhaps too glibly dismissed André Maurois as the darling of dowagers in Kansas City and the Faubourg St. Germain: he has now written a good book.

ELIZABETH GALLAHER

The Shadow of Samuel Butler

THE ESSENTIAL SAMUEL BUTLER. Selected with an Introduction by G. D. H. Cole. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

AS THE twentieth century gains an increasingly distinct intellectual character, the shadow of Samuel Butler grows longer on the ground before it. Our civilization is becoming more and more like some early condition of Erewhon, that country in which the machines were smashed because they threatened to enslave humanity. "The Way of All Flesh" deals with family conflicts which we have now learned to recognize and to name. The unconscious memory which Butler declared to be the vehicle of biological heredity was a brilliant anticipation of the insights of Freud and Jung. Some of the most recent ideas in psychology, biology, pragmatic philosophy, religion, and industrial relations correspond to thoughts which suggested themselves to Butler over fifty years ago, and which rise up before his readers like eerie Doppelgänger.

Professor Norbert Wiener's recent book named "Cybernetics," for example, opens a field of study so new that it requires a new name; yet its fundamental basis is one of Butler's most interesting and best-known ideas. Professor Wiener suggests an analogy between the human nervous system and the communication devices of certain advanced kinds of machines. Machines which receive and transmit a message, and adjust their activities in accordance with the meaning of the message, usurp a function which has hitherto been considered a peculiarly human one—the function of thinking. This development, says Professor Wiener, ". . . makes the metaphorical dominance of the machines, as imagined by Samuel Butler, a most immediate and non-metaphorical problem."

Butler's four books on biology fell into comparative oblivion because Butler tried, almost single-handed, to oppose the vigorous young strength of Darwinism. However, they deserve a new interest now, in view of the attempt of Russian geneticists, led by Lysenko, to overthrow orthodox genetics by declaring that acquired characteristics can be inherited. This is exactly what Butler had contended, beginning in 1877, in book after book and article after article directed against the leading biologists of his time. The issue, in spite of Professor Julian Huxley's vigorous handling of the Russian theories in "Heredity East and West," will remain an issue as long as the nature of heredity remains mysterious.

Butler anticipated so much because the temper of his mind was the temper of the twentieth century at its best—curious, imaginative, intensely practical, and intolerant of superstition. He believed that things have the value you assign to them and knew how much the mind itself could do and undo.

Mr. Cole's volume of selections from Butler's writings brings forward some of the aspects of his work which have been obscured by the popularity of his two well-known books. It displays his versatility by reproducing some of his work as a Greek scholar, a biologist, a musician, and a painter. In the face of the great variety of his work, no two opinions of what is "essential" in Samuel Butler are likely to agree. To this reviewer at least, Butler's statement of his own religion, "God the Known and

Until May 31 only!
30% discount
on all records and books
imported • domestic
for mail orders add 15¢ postage per record. 50¢ minimum.
One entire wall of overstocked records
50% to 70% discount
ALL THREE SPEEDS
LP catalogs: 15¢
"Just Records" (double issue): 30¢
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth and Madison — New York City 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! SELECTED WORKS by
MAXIM GORKY
Contains
CHILDHOOD • MOTHER • The ARTAMONOVS
In English — 831 pp. — $2.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1950 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue "P-50"
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

30% off? No, 50% off!
on many French imports—no mail orders please
Sale will last until available supply lasts!
Now ready: combined European Import Catalog, 50¢. Refundable with first order. 25% Saving plus extra bonus through LP Bonus Club. Write for details. Full LP catalog, 15¢.
LES DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.
Hours 12 noon–10 p.m. daily RHinelander 4-9294

AWARDED PULITZER PRIZE — 1950
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN · EZIO PINZA
in
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC THEA., 44th St. W. of B'way
EVES. 8:25. MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:25

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

God the Unknown," is indispensable as the expression of a spirit on which depend much in Butler and much in contemporary philosophy.

JACOB KORG

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE nearest thing to the famous Busch Chambers Players performances of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos is a set of performances by chamber groups conducted by Reiner which Columbia has issued on three LP records (ML-4281/2/3). They are, for the most part, well-paced, light, and admirably executed; and my reservations concern only the performances of Nos. 2 and 3. No. 2 is the one with the difficult high-trumpet part; and William Vacchiano betrays—not only by false notes and imperfect pitch but by inexact timing and rhythm—the difficulty which Ekdale manages to conceal almost entirely in the Busch performance; moreover, the recording makes Vacchiano's trumpet ear-piercingly obtrusive, whereas Ekdale's is in correct balance with the other solo instruments. It may be poorly balanced recording, in the Reiner performance, that also makes the solo violin, flute, and oboe not always as clearly distinguishable in their contrapuntal weaving in the second movement as they are in the Busch; but on the other hand this may be in the playing itself: one isn't likely to get from players even as excellent as the ones used in the Reiner performances, after a couple of rehearsals, the beautifully adjusted ensemble playing that was recorded by the Busch Players after many rehearsals and public performances. As for No. 3, I go along with the deliberate pace of the first movement, but I can't take the monkey-business with dynamics—*e.g.*, the extreme pianissimo in a tutti which unmistakably implies a forte; and the same with the exaggerated swells in the second movement.

One general observation on the use of the harpsichord in the Reiner performances. Its original purpose was to fill in the harmony; but even at the close range of these recorded performances it is inaudible most of the time, and what one hears when it is audible is not chords but only the harpsichord timbre. And even in No. 5, where it is one of the solo instruments, it is inaudible in solo passages when the flute and violin play, and its bass can barely be heard in the cadenza in which it is alone (Sylvia Marlowe's playing in this work is the most straightforward and relaxed I have heard her do). I haven't the slightest doubt that if Bach were arranging a present-day performance he would use the piano instead of the harpsichord.

As for the recorded sound, it requires drastic cutting down of treble.

Columbia also has issued on two LP records, under the title "Bach's Royal Instrument," a number of Bach's organ works played by E. Power Briggs on the new organ in Symphony Hall, Boston. On one (ML-4284) are the great Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C and the six Schubler Chorale-Preludes, of which the best-known, "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," turns out to be the most impressive. And on the other (ML-4285) are the Trio Sonatas Nos. 1 and 2, which I find uninteresting, the fine Prelude and Fugue in B minor, and the Prelude and Fugue in G, which I care less for. The performances are good; but they come off the records with their sound a little thick and afflicted with high-pitched reverberation and shattering. Treble must be cut down.

From London comes a set (LLP-A-2) of three LP records with Bach's "The Art of Fugue," orchestrated by Roger Vuataz and performed by Scherchen with the Radio Orchestra of Beromünster. Some of the tempos are much too slow, others much too fast, for the character and sense of the music; and the old Roth Quartet performance is not only better-paced but better in general style. Nor is the string quartet monotonous if one plays this wonderful music a fugue or two at a time, as I think one should. The Scherchen performance includes the four canons omitted in the Roth: its recorded sound is a little brash even with treble reduced.

London also has issued Bach's Cantata No. 67 and the well-known *Jesu,*

Special Pre-Publication Offer

Pocket Encyclopedia of

ATOMIC ENERGY

FRANK GAYNOR

A COMPREHENSIVE collection of brief explanations and definitions of concepts and terms in the field of Nuclear Physics and Atomic Energy.

There are individual entries for every element; brief descriptions of the best known types of nuclear reactions are given; there is an entry for every member of the known radioactive families, etc. Also, thumbnail biographical sketches of outstanding nuclear physicists and chemists. Over two thousand entries, numerous charts, tables and illustrations.

"The book is well planned, well executed, and it reveals a profound knowledge of the subject covered. It is a must for every physicist as well as every intelligent layman interested in atomic science." —*Dr. Sydney N. Baruch, Consulting Engineer, Special Weapons Division, U. S. Air Force; Inventor of the anti-submarine depth bomb.*

$7.00

If you send in your order before JUNE 30, 1950 you can get your copy for

ONLY $6.00

SPECIAL ORDER COUPON

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Publishers
15 E. 40th St., Dept. N, New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $_____ for _____ copy(ies) of POCKET ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ATOMIC ENERGY, at the special Pre-Publication price of $6.00 per copy. The books(s) to be mailed to me immediately upon publication.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

(Expedite shipment by enclosing remittance.)

25% LESS THAN LIST PRICE FOR YOUR BOOKS! WHY PAY MORE?

(AND YOU MAY DEDUCT IT IN ADVANCE!)

Here's a new and unsurpassed way to buy your books. Deduct 25% from the list price right away! You save on your very first book and every book you choose. That goes for any book in print except books classified by their publishers as text or technical books (on these you save 10%). If you wish, we'll gift-wrap and enclose a card with your name and greeting free. Books shipped same day order and payment are received. You get regular publishers' editions, not reprints, and you receive a free monthly booklet of book news.
Big savings on 33 1/3 & 45 r.p.m. records too!

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

DIVIDEND-BONUS BOOK CLUB, Inc. Same Day Shipment
799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Dept. R-42

Please enroll me as a Dividend-Bonus Book Club member. I understand that I may deduct 25% in advance on every book I buy except text or technical books (10% off on these). I promise to buy four books within a year. All books are original publisher's editions. I am to receive FREE a monthly news booklet. Send me the books listed on the attached sheet for which I enclose $_____ (Add 15¢ per book postage and handling charges.)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

Zone_____ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

only 53 miles to
OAKWOOD
NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477
Informal colonial estate. Spacious grounds. Private lake. Sports. Golf nearby. Television. American-Jewish cuisine. Adults.
Reserve NOW for Decoration Day

Spring is the perfect time for a wonderful vacation at Forest House. Excellent cuisine; fine accommodations; warm hospitality. Two grand lakes; all sports. Low spring rates prevail through June.
50 MILES from N.Y.C.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. Tel. Mahopac 8-3688

Lakefront Lodge
St. Adolphe de Howard • Prov. Quebec, Canada
Holiday in the heart of the beautiful Laurentians in French Canada. 60 miles from Montreal. American-Jewish Cuisine: $40 (Canadian funds) per week. (10% premium on U. S. money.) Open June 16.
For folder or reservations write or phone:
MRS. A. H. LEWIS
4365 Beaconsfield Ave., Montreal 28, Canada
Tel.: WA 3375

MORE than just a resort
PLUM POINT
ON THE HUDSON
55 Miles from N. Y. C.
OPEN ALL YEAR
NEW WINDSOR, N. Y.
Tel.: Newburgh 4270

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR—FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Delicious food. Walking, hiking. Magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Easy transportation. ATTRACTIVE RATES for DECORATION DAY.
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
INFORMAL ADULT RESORT IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 90 — 14-MILE LAKE
TENNIS • FISHING • GOLF • MOTOR BOATING
POLLEN-FREE—CRAFTS
Folk-Square Dances. Concert Trio. Lectures. Dance Band.
New York Office: 250 West 57th Street, Circle 6-6386
OPEN THRU SEPT. • Louis A. Roth, Director

ENJOY 64 MILLION SQ. FEET OF SPRING...
Glenmere
(Private Golf Course)
the GLENMERE, chester, n. y.
PHONES: CHESTER 200 N. Y. RECTOR 2-5647

pody's
"An Artist in the Kitchen"
LOCUST GROVE FARM
Hopewell Junction, N. Y.
100 acres of colonial charm with a 15-mile view. Dedicated to a small group interested in good living, informal fun. Private Lake. Plus (if you like) barn studios, art classes.
N. Y. Infor.: CH 3-4359, Box N, 459 W. 21 St., N.Y.

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.
35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"
The nearest of all nearby resorts. Excellent location. Luxuriously furnished. Dignified. All sports activities. Excellent cuisine.
Phone Armonk Village 3-8155 & 3-3162

Joy of Man's Desiring from No. 147 (LPS-161), sung in English by Kathleen Ferrier, contralto, William Herbert, tenor, and William Parsons, bass, with the Cantata Singers and the Jacques Orchestra under Reginald Jacques; and the Cantata No. 11 (LPS-160), performed by the same musicians and *Ena Mitchell, soprano.* The chorale from No. 147 is very beautiful, as are the chorales in the other two; but I find myself untouched by the rest of the music. The performances are excellent, and well reproduced with treble cut down.

On a Columbia record (ML-2102) are the Motet "Lobet den Herrn alle Heiden," the Chorales "In dulci jubilo" and "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" and Passion Chorale, and the Motet "Komm, Jesu, komm," which I find more moving than the other, well sung by the Schola Cantorum under Hugh Ross, and well reproduced with treble cut down and bass stepped up.

From Mercury, finally, comes a record (MG-10017) with Bach's Sonatas in G minor and A minor for unaccompanied violin played by Alexander Schneider—dull music well played.

Elaine Music Shop has informed me that it is prepared to have H. M. V. press copies of the famous Kreisler-Rachmaninov recording of Schubert's Sonata Opus 162 if it receives twenty-five orders with deposits of $1.89 on the price of $9.45 for the three records.

RESORTS

Walk from Music Inn to
Berkshire Festival at Tanglewood. Dance Festival 15 minutes away. Alan Lomax Folk Concerts, July 1-4.
85 acres, two lakes. Swimming, boating, fishing, tennis, loafing. Good food, good beds, good company. Write for our Berkshire Almanac, complete program of what goes on in the Berkshires when.
Stephanie Frey Barber
MUSIC INN, Lenox, Mass. N. Y. Phone: MU 5-0866

CAMP ANNISQUAM
Gloucester, Mass
Abram Resnick
Director
This Adult Camp
... in Gloucester is 6 hours from New York. CAMP ANNISQUAM offers salt water swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, trips and all sports.
Write for booklet and rates

For Spring at its Best . . . come to
Lakecrest
On Hunn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.
Spring is "bustin' out all over" at our picturesque Dutchess County 100-acre estate, situated at the gateway to the Berkshires. Relax and rejoice with the many pleasures awaiting you: easy informality, modern facilities, beautiful surroundings, lush scenery and delightful hospitality. Only 90 miles from N. Y. C.
Early Decoration Day Reservations Suggested
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville 2982 & 2328

RESORTS

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A beautiful country estate converted into a vacation paradise for adults. Magnificent private lake. All seasonal sports. Varied indoor activities. Television. Superb accommodations and cuisine. Weekly rates $50 up; daily $10 up.

A "Forest-Farm-Lake-and-Mountain Paradise"
WORLD FELLOWSHIP
(Incorporated not-for-profit)
CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
274 acres, 2 lakes, trout stream, natural forests. Free forum evenings, July-August. Music, games. Swimming, boating, fishing, mountain climbing. We welcome ALL races and faiths. Excursions. Generously GOOD FOOD. Informal home atmosphere. $4.25-$6.50 daily. (Lowest outside July-August) FREE folder: photos, rates, transportation.

Green Acres
LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, NEW YORK
45 miles from New York City
Sports • Music and Book Library • Dancing
Open All Year Round
Telephone: HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

SCHROON CREST
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
A Resort That Is Different
Informal Camp for Adults
POTTERSVILLE NEW YORK
ON SCHROON LAKE
Special 4-Day DECORATION WEEKEND
Including Round-Trip Fare from NYC
OSCAR BRAND Famous Shoeless Troubadour
BOB ADLER & Resident Staff
DeLuxe Cottages for Honeymooners
Private Beach • Boating • Canoeing • Handball
Tennis • Bicycles • All Sports • Entertainment
Dancing • Bar • Fireplaces • Booklet
LOW JUNE RATES — FREE GOLF to June 20th
N. Y. C. Office: 142 Montague St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
Phone: MAin 4-8570 or MAin 4-1230
LEAH OKUN, Director

LAKEVIEW
IN THE MONADNOCK REGION
Private lake frontage, bathing, boating, fishing. For adults wishing restful vacations. Individual cottages or rooms. Private baths and other modern conveniences. Excellent food. Rates, double, from $100 per week. American plan.
For information write
BOX 77, MUNSONVILLE, N. H.

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
Special Decoration Day Week-End
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful Highland Lake 10 mi. long. All Land & Water Sports. Square & Folk Dancing. 4 hrs. by train from N. Y.
Special Rate of $45 for Opening Week, June 24-July 1
Regular Season Rates: $55, $60 & $65 weekly
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature • Phone Hancock 98 Ring 13

PINE CREST in the BERKSHIRES
WEST CORNWALL, CONNECTICUT
• A DELIGHTFUL ADULT RESORT •
All sports, including swimming, boating and tennis. Social and folk dancing. Television.
Superb cuisine. Private cabins facing the River.
HONEYMOON CABINS DELUXE
DIANA & ABE BERMAN Tel. Cornwall 89W3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Atomic Era

CAN IT BRING PEACE AND ABUNDANCE?

Contributors

John Boyd-Orr
Claude Bourdet
Aubrey Eban
Harrison S. Brown
John K. Fairbank
Telford Taylor
David Bradley
David F. Cavers
Gardner Murphy
Norbert Wiener
Louis Dolivet
Edward U. Condon
Hans Morgenthau
Max Ascoli
Clark M. Eichelberger
Dewey Anderson

and others

THE *Nation* *presents in this special supplement the addresses delivered at the Nation Associates' Conference, held in New York City at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, on April 29 and 30.*

Part Two of the issue of May 20, 1950

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMARY OF POINTS

THE choice before human society is total war with total destruction or changes in international structure to make war obsolete. That was the consensus of opinion of twenty-seven speakers at the conference. All agreed that war was not inevitable, but that the way to avoid war was not simply to seek an agreement on atomic controls but to examine the causes of the cold war and try to eliminate them, while admitting that agreements must be based on the concept of a divided world.

A meeting of the Big Three was urged, but only after the Western world had modified its attitude toward the needs of the world at large. Many speakers asked the West to recognize that the world is in revolution, that there are two factors as important as the threat of the bomb: the upsurge in Asia and elsewhere against hunger and poverty, and the advance in technology which has produced an economy of potential abundance.

It was urged by one speaker that both Moscow and the West should abandon the false theory that the Communist countries form a monolithic bloc. By insisting on this the West in particular has increased dependence on the Kremlin.

With one exception all the speakers urged strengthening the United Nations as the sole existing instrument for adjusting international differences. One speaker offered the counter-suggestion that a settlement be reached between the Soviet Union and the United States on the basis of spheres of influence.

The majority of the papers concentrated on the following proposals: control of atomic weapons; world economic reorganization; settlement for Germany; European reorientation; development of Asia.

1. *Atomic Control.* There was general agreement that the Baruch Plan requires modification, that the ending of the monopoly on atomic weapons has created a changed atmosphere, and that as countries other than the United States and Russia engage in atomic enterprises they will create an additional force for peace.

Specific suggestions included the following: that the idea of international ownership of atomic resources and producing agencies should be abandoned; that comprehensive international inspection should be retained; that a convention should be adopted outlawing the use of atomic bombs, and declaring *the first use* of such weapons to be a war crime.

Two interim control schemes were suggested. One called for a stand-still agreement, coupled with United Nations inspection to insure execution, that all competition in atomic production should cease and existing bombs be put under United Nations seal for a specified time. Another proposed a ten-year agreement, automatically renewable at the end of the ninth year, under which the United States and the Soviet Union would surrender their stock piles to an international authority, large-scale atomic operations would be forbidden, large-scale installations would be dismantled, and previously produced explosives accounted for. Such an interim agreement should come into effect quickly and as a whole.

2. *Role of the U. N.* The importance of the United Nations both as embodying the principle of universality and as comprising special agencies to organize programs in the interest of the world community was underscored by many speakers. It was also stressed that the membership of the smaller nations would enable the United Nations to serve as a third force between East and West. It was urged that an immediate effort should be made to end the present crisis in the United Nations by admitting the Chinese Communist government and all states so far excluded, as well as the Republic of Indonesia.

3. *World Reorganization.* In this field the following proposals were made: that a global Marshall Plan should be instituted with the cooperation of all countries, each putting into the World Bank in proportion to its wealth; and that an enlarged Point Four plan should be undertaken, under the United Nations but with the major participation of the United States. This plan should be divided into a short-term program (five years) and a long-term program (fifty years). It was proposed that the next Congress should pass the necessary legislation for the enlarged program.

4. *Program for Asia.* Total war in Asia can be avoided only by recognizing the revolution going on in all aspects of Asian life and forestalling the spread of communism by cooperation, on a democratic basis, with the forces of change. Proposing concentration on Southeast Asia, it was emphasized that since the bulk of the populations are peasants wholly removed from contact with the outside world, an American program of aid to established regimes cannot check Communist infiltration carried out in peasant areas by local Communist workers. Consequently it was urged that American personnel be trained to understand Asia's problems by direct experience at the "rice roots"; that we avoid maintaining puppets; that private American effort, aimed at developing a new social order in Asia, be conducted by American educational institutions, social agencies, religious bodies, and business interests.

5. *Program for Europe.* The following proposals were offered: that the Atlantic Pact policy should be abandoned in favor of an independent and neutral Western Europe; that trade should be encouraged between Western and Eastern Europe; and that expanded economic aid should be given to Europe, including the Soviet Union.

6. *Settlement for Germany.* The need for a settlement on Germany was emphasized as a way of removing one basic cause of conflict between East and West. Such a settlement, it was proposed, should be based upon the economic and political union of Germany, with provisions for its permanent neutralization. A united Germany should be admitted to the United Nations and be a party to all agreements for the control of armaments and the allocation of coal and steel production. Assurance should be given that German industrial resources would be available to all nations, including Russia.

7. *An International Center.* To accelerate the peace-time development of atomic energy, it was proposed that a center for free atomic research should be set up in a country not adhering to either bloc and financed by an international fund.

The hampering effects of secrecy were scored as dangerous to peace, freedom, and scientific progress.

The United States was warned that in the event of an atomic war it has the most to lose ideologically and morally. The final word spoken at the conference placed the responsibility for war or peace with the people. "Governments," said Lord John Boyd-Orr, "cannot lead except where the people want to go. It lies with the people to create a weapon called public opinion."

REPRINTS

of this

SUPPLEMENT

are available to organizations and individuals at the following rates:

Single Copy Price — 20¢

BULK RATES:

10 Copies — $ 1.65
50 Copies — $ 6.50
100 Copies — $10.00
500 Copies — $47.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

VOLUME 170 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 20, 1950 NUMBER 20, PART II

I. THE IMPLICATIONS OF ATOMIC WAR

Introductory Note

The addresses in this supplement were delivered at the five regular sessions and the dinner of the two-day forum on "The Atomic Era—Can It Bring Peace and Abundance?" conducted by the Nation Associates at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on April 29 and 30. The editors have tried to give as complete a résumé as possible of the material presented at the forum. Space limitations have, however, necessitated some condensation and deletion. The discussion from the floor could not be reproduced even in part, although it contributed greatly to the interest and value of the proceedings. We want to take this opportunity to thank all the participants, active and passive, for their help in making the forum a success; and to inform our readers that mimeographed copies of the complete texts of addresses are available in limited numbers.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Foreign Policy for the Atomic Era

BY HARRISON S. BROWN

Professor of Physical Chemistry, University of Chicago

NEARLY five years have passed since a single American plane dropped the atomic bomb which destroyed the city of Hiroshima. Shortly thereafter President Truman said: "The atomic bomb is too dangerous to be loose in a lawless world." Two months later he added, "The hope of civilization lies in international arrangements for the atomic bomb." Today, four and one-half years after Mr. Truman's first mention of international control, we find, instead of international arrangement, international disarrangement of the most dangerous variety. Under the circumstances we must ask ourselves: What hope can we now hold for civilization?

The dismal failure to place control of atomic energy under the United Nations must be examined carefully. Why did not Russia accept in broad outline the terms of the Baruch proposals—which have been variously termed "generous" and "statesman-like" by those who agreed with the proposals, and "over-generous" and "dangerous" by more conservative critics? Many Americans, including some of those involved in the negotiations, have placed entire blame for the failure upon Russian recalcitrance and stupidity. Others have cited Russian behavior as further evidence that the main object of the Soviet government is to subjugate the world and enforce the Soviet way of life upon us all.

When agreement on a major issue is impossible, it is always tempting to believe that it is entirely the other fellow's fault. Can we accept that verdict in this case? Before we blindly do so, let us examine the relationship between atomic bombs and the military-strategic situation that existed between 1946 and 1949.

When the Baruch proposals were first made, the United States alone possessed atomic bombs. Estimates as to how long it would be before Russia would produce its first bomb varied widely. Apparently more weight was placed upon the longer estimates, for it seems clear that the foreign policy which evolved during that period was based on the assumption that it would be many years before Russia would possess atomic weapons.

Traditionally, a major function of the foreign policy of large nations is to place them in the position of winning wars in which they may become involved. Russia and the United States have long recognized that at some time in the future they might be at war with each other. Under the circumstances, what policies should we expect the two nations to pursue?

To the United States, officially holding the view that it had ample time to consolidate Western Europe, the giving up of atomic weapons would have been no major loss—indeed, the abolition of atomic weapons would enable us to maintain bases in Europe from which we could operate against Russia using conventional armaments. In addition, by establishing control over atomic weapons, we would eliminate the one armament with which Russia might conceivably in the future carry a war to the United States. Looked at solely from the strategic point of view, elimination of atomic weapons from armaments during the period of peace would aid immeasurably in strengthening our military position.

On the other hand, with atomic bombs in its possession, Russia makes untenable our position in Western Europe. Having deprived the United States of bases in Europe, and having the power to carry through a major dispersal movement, it would have little to fear from American bombs. And it would have a weapon with which it could conceivably carry war directly to our industrial regions.

If Russia had accepted the terms of the Baruch proposals it would have deprived itself not only of these strategic advantages but of other advantages as well. By subjecting itself to controls *before* it had obtained experience in actual bomb production, the Soviet Union would have risked possibly fatal delay in starting bomb production once it became involved in war. In addition, control with inspection would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mean relaxing one of its important military assets—the Iron Curtain. When we take all of these factors into consideration, it is easy to understand why the United States was willing to pursue vigorously the quest for a strong international control scheme, and why the Soviet Union with equal vigor refused to accept the West's proposals.

In September of last year the event that many of us had been expecting took place. Russia exploded what was probably its first atomic bomb. The demoralizing strategic effects of this upon the nations of Western Europe, which were in process of organizing under the Atlantic Pact, have already become apparent. After a few years we can expect Russia to possess a sufficient number of bombs to destroy totally the major cities of Western Europe. We must ask ourselves how we would feel and act if we were in the position of the British, French, Belgians, or Dutch, knowing that we should have to choose between capitulation or destruction should there be war between the United States and the Soviet Union. If I were in their position, realizing the ease with which atomic bombs may be manufactured and being familiar with the potential destructiveness of the weapon, I believe I would say to both Russians and Americans, "In the name of everything that is decent—leave us alone and permit us to be neutral!"

In this connection, after President Truman's announcement that the United States would investigate the possibilities of manufacturing H-bombs, the Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* reported the French as wishing "that somehow Europe could be neutralized and removed from the paths and the influences of other powers."

I doubt that the potential existence of the H-bomb was necessary to instil that mood in the French people—ordinary atomic bombs were probably sufficient.

It seems clear the military position of the United States has deteriorated enormously since the end of World War II. This deterioration has been the result of many factors. But if we were to ask which of those factors is primarily responsible, I believe we would be compelled to answer—the atomic bomb, which we ourselves introduced to the world at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

We have now announced that we shall attempt to make hydrogen bombs. We are told that we must do so because Russia undoubtedly will, and it would be disastrous if Moscow alone possessed such a weapon. Here indeed we are on the horns of a dilemma! We cannot afford *not* to make H-bombs. Yet we must recognize that once H-bombs are in existence, our military position relative to that of Russia will become still weaker.

When we speak of hydrogen bombs, we speak of detonating very large quantities of heavy hydrogen, utilizing the ordinary atomic bomb as a component of the detonating mechanism. If it develops that it is not possible to detonate essentially unlimited quantities of heavy hydrogen, then the H-bomb will be of no particular military interest. On the other hand, if it turns out that an unlimited amount of heavy hydrogen can be detonated, we shall be confronted with the following potentialities.

First, it might be possible to construct bombs which could be carried by plane or submarine and which could be used to destroy cities by their blast and heat. Such bombs might be a thousand times as powerful as the Nagasaki bomb.

But far more important from the military point of view will be the possibility of creating much larger explosions or chains of explosions in isolated areas and making use of tailor-made radioactivities which can be produced from the neutrons liberated by the explosion. It may well develop that such radioactivity could be utilized in a controlled manner. Thus Russia might explode a sufficient number of bombs in the Pacific to produce radioactivity which, carried by the winds in the stratosphere, would destroy most of the higher forms of life in the United States. One can also visualize a similar operation in reverse. But when we examine this possibility closely, we find that the United States is far more exposed to such attack than is Russia.

One could speculate at considerable length on the potentialities of the hydrogen bomb. If an unlimited explosion in deuterium is possible, a nation may well have it in its power to threaten to annihilate all higher forms of life on earth by use of the radioactivity that could be produced. Or the bomb may place in the hands of nations other, as yet unthought-of powers of destruction. No matter how one looks at the situation, life in a world in which the H-bomb exists will be a life of constant fear. As a colleague of mine recently said: "We must remember that there is no need, in the nature of things, for man to continue to inhabit planet earth."

Returning now to the question of atomic-energy control, we must ask ourselves: How can we possibly extricate ourselves from the present dangerous situation? If our civilization is to survive, adequate international atomic-control measures are absolutely necessary. Yet we are confronted with the glaring fact that in the absence of compensating measures, the Soviet Union cannot afford to give up atomic bombs. Nor can it afford to permit the most essential component part of atomic control—continuous inspection.

The conclusions one must draw from these facts seem clear. We cannot hope to achieve atomic-energy control, with inspection, by pursuing it as an isolated issue. We cannot accept atomic-energy control without inspection. Therefore we must inquire into the conditions under which Russia might accept inspection.

I do not believe that it will be possible to achieve a satisfactory control system except within the framework of a general settlement with Russia. The real issue is not communism versus capitalism; it is not how terrible Russia's tyranny might be; it is not whether Russia can be trusted to keep agreements. Certainly Russia's tyranny is terrible. Certainly Russia cannot always be trusted. But like any sovereign power in a lawless world, Russia will keep agreements for as long a time as it is in its interest to do so. The real issue, then, is: How can we create a peace which will provide reasonable security for both nations and thus sufficient positive incentives so that *all* agreements—both palatable and unpalatable—will be kept?

It seems clear that such agreements cannot be established piecemeal. The situation is too complex, and the component parts interlock to too great an extent, to permit step-by-step solution. At this stage a search for an over-all settlement is our only real hope of averting disastrous war. So far, however, the American people and their leaders have not thought

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through the question of what might constitute a reasonable settlement. What would we demand? Equally important, what would we be willing to give—at our own expense, rather than at the expense of other nations? Unfortunately none of us is in a position at the present time to say in detail. But I believe a few answers are possible.

We should insist upon atomic-energy control *with inspection*. This would mean, of course, raising the Iron Curtain.

We should insist upon the right of the nations of Western Europe to determine their own destinies, and above all to maintain their neutrality in the event of war.

We should be prepared to follow a course of general disarmament, with inspection.

We should be prepared to engage in an expanded program of economic aid to all Europe, including Russia.

The important consideration is that points must be balanced. For every "take" there must be a "give."

It may develop that an over-all settlement with Russia is impossible. Those who argue that the actions of the Soviet Union are governed largely by ideological considerations may be correct. In that event I believe that war will be inevitable in the absence of an unlikely internal collapse of the Soviet government. A study of Russia's past actions, however, indicates strongly that Russia is first and foremost behaving as a sovereign nation-state seeking desperately an elusive security. Until we have fully explored the possibility of reaching an over-all settlement, I do not believe that we should discount this interpretation.

Even a settlement, however, is, in the language of the mathematicians, "a necessary but not a sufficient condition." In a world of of nation-states, each possessed of the knowledge and means of atomic-bomb manufacture, lasting peace will not be possible in the absence of enforceable world law. A settlement with Russia must be looked upon as only a prelude to the creation of a world community living under world law. Within the framework of that community, perhaps our technical ingenuity may be applied to the task of creating a good and abundant life for all peoples of the world, rather than to the task of final destruction.

The Only Defense Is Peace

BY DAVID BRADLEY

Author of "No Place to Hide"

I WAS in London when the Russians exploded an atomic bomb and was astonished by the calm and passive reaction of the British people. This, as I soon discovered, represented the calm surface of a fathomless despair. As one of my friends put it, "There isn't any defense in case of war; and there isn't any plan by which war can be avoided—so what's a blighter supposed to do?"

That is the heart of the matter: no adequate defenses and no workable plan—at least so it seems to the ordinary man. You have asked me to speak on the question of defenses. No question of security is involved, only common sense. But I would like to point out in advance that I believe a lengthy discussion of defense to be a distraction from the real issue. Whether or not there can be devised a Plan for Peace is the real question today, tomorrow, and every day.

As a vendor of distractions I should like to make it clear that I do not believe we can build a world of law and order out of spare parts from the junk yard of our past failures. Defense will not bring peace. Military machines and new weapons create no prosperity. Nor—I am forced to conclude—will discussions of the technical potentialities for a world of plenty, however fascinating and however true, come to anything but a sense of exalted frustration unless they lead to sound decisions and those decisions to sound political action. Now let me turn to the question of defense.

It seems to be an axiom in government that if you want something, ask for twice as much. In defense, however, a counter-axiom is more valid—namely, if you ask for too much you get nothing. We have been expecting too much from defense and consequently we have nothing.

There are certain things we can do in the way of civil defense and others which it is futile to expect. Among those which I regard as useless delusions are the following:

1. The idea that our military defenses will be impregnable. This is not yet so.

2. The theory that fusion bombs (generic term: Hydrogen bombs) will prevent aggression. There is little that such a weapon could do that cannot be done with the A-bombs already available—except perhaps to bring to an end man's sojourn on this earth.

3. The belief that our giant cities—New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles—can be defended. They cannot be.

4. The general impression that medical science is on the verge of discovering a new pill or injection of some kind to neutralize the effects of atomic bombing. Certain drugs will be helpful—but the story as it is usually told is a fairy tale.

The preceding are the notions about defense which we would do well to discard in order to concentrate on those which could conceivably be of some help, namely:

1. In the medium-sized cities such dispersal and decentralization as is based on sound social and economic planning will be very helpful in minimizing casualties and limiting the spread of fires.

2. Business is investing about fourteen billion dollars in new installations, most of which are located in already overcrowded areas. When foresight seems to be lacking, it might well be wise to prohibit by law any further centralization of industry.

3. While putting whole cities underground is out of the question, certain essential items might well be protected in this fashion. General Robinson, writing in the *Military Engineer,* February, 1949, recommends cave shelters for vital military and governmental installations and such industrial plants as produce atomic bombs, precision instruments, and airplane engines. (Parenthetically, please note that the protection of you as a human being is the last consideration. The representatives of the state come first, and the machines come next. For you there won't even be standing room in the caves. In fact, you most certainly will be drafted to stay on the job outside if you are not part of the machinery of a subterranean essential industry.)

Finally, I should like to say that of all defense efforts which can be devised, perhaps the simplest and most effective will be in the fields of medicine and public health. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

addition to giving the general public a better understanding than we now have of modern weapons of war, we should set up and train rescue squads, fire-fighting teams, engineer, communications, and refugee units, as well as small groups of technicians specifically trained in radiation, chemical, and biological warfare. Also we should establish first-aid stations and small emergency hospitals in the rural environs of our larger cities. Doctors and nurses and sections of the metropolitan population can then be assigned to their proper hospitals, exactly as at sea, where the crew and passengers are assigned to particular lifeboats.

These, then, are some of the problems and possibilities of defense. Those measures which are practical are of immediate and urgent necessity. But whatever their validity, they are, as I said at the beginning, in the nature of diversions from the main problem.

I see no other way. The natural laws which govern nuclear reactions must be matched with civil laws. And until you can teach atomic bombs to distinguish good from bad, black from white, Republicans from Communists, your civil laws will have to be as impartial as the bomb.

Many people quite honestly believe that a world of law and order is impossible. I am not so pessimistic. The genius of men to design and create what emergency compels them to seek is well known. The development of atomic energy is an excellent sample of genius and necessity combining to revolutionize the world.

As you know, there is some chance that a hydrogen-radiation war may extinguish all life from the earth. That would greatly simplify our problems. But what you probably do not know is that such an eventuality will not be the result of negligence or miscalculation. Dr. Teller, a great scientist who is still, reluctantly, working at Los Alamos, has written: "If atom bombs lead to disaster, it will not be by an accidental catastrophe but by careful planning and design." Dr. Teller might have added that if atomic energy is to lead to peace and plenty it will also not be by accident but by careful planning and design.

Nuclear Dementia

BY GARDNER MURPHY

Professor of Psychology, City College of New York; Chairman, American Psychology Association's Committee on Atomic Energy and Industrial Tensions

IN TIMES of violence and terror everything is viewed as a threat to our existence or as a means of defense. Nothing can remain neutral or subject to dispassionate analysis. State all this in moralistic terms born of the desperate struggle to exist, and you discover that everything that defends you is right and everything that threatens you is wrong.

Take our American system, an incredible amalgam of a magnificent Jeffersonian tradition of mass democracy and along with it an increasing concentration of economic power which wrestles continually against mass control. We dub this whole system, as if it were indivisible, by some such blanket honorific phrase as "free institutions," and are told to think simply and clearly about defending free institutions as an alternative to becoming the enemies of free institutions. As atomic threats increase, we grow more and more intolerant of those who still believe that the humane and the democratic in our system are in peril not only from external but also from internal forces.

The immediate psychological effect of modern war has already been made clear by history. Indeed, the American public put up no real protest at all either against the incredible holocaust of the fire raids upon Tokyo, which burned men, women, and children by the tens of thousands, or against the Hiroshima-Nagasaki atomic attacks, with their portent of possible future destruction on a still vaster scale. I am neither protesting nor condemning. This is the way people react when they conceive themselves to be in extreme peril, and no amount of pleading and preaching will change the situation very much. There is no reason to believe that the wholesale use of atomic or bacteriological weapons would be avoided in a future war, or that it would be subject to any sort of moral control whatever. The net effect, as we come closer and closer to world-wide devastation, would be to make us more and more certain that we had no choice in the matter, more and more desperately determined that no sacrifice, no effort, no terror should be spared for the sake of winning the war.

What we could actually win, however, would not be a world in which democracy could function. Let atomic war grind along even a few months, and we shall have been reduced to such a level of desperation that those who dare insist that human beings are still human beings wherever they are, and that it is a decent world for all humanity for which we struggle, will seem to the majority to be traitors and criminals. The time to think about the kind of social institutions that can function decently in the modern world is now.

Without pretending to be an expert on the psychology of Soviet leadership, I believe it is a pretty safe guess that the Soviet leaders feel themselves capable of carrying through such a war as may take shape. They are not soft or irresolute people, and they are ready to exploit suffering and deprivation to any required degree for the sake of the objective which, to them, is worth all costs. It is we, not the Soviet leaders, who stand ideologically and morally to lose most gravely by atomic war. I believe, in fact, that Americans are utterly confused as to the probable outcome of an atomic war when conceived in psychological terms; for they fail altogether to distinguish between a technical victory which, incidentally, they think would be rather easy, and a loss of those values and ways of life to which, as Americans, they are most deeply devoted. As has happened in the past, we might well be technical victors and at a deeper level be utterly vanquished.

Part of the defeat has, I think, already been experienced through the progressive violence and indiscriminate character assassination which has been going on among various kinds of American leadership.

I believe the only way out of this situation is to think through the question: What would each group be willing to yield in order to conduct a long-range plan for a social order satisfying some of the wants of each? It is relatively easy to make up, in the manner of Mr. Acheson, a list of things upon which we will *not* yield; and indeed this has real value. Just as important, however, in this stage of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world's history is to make up a list of those other things upon which we *will* yield if our potential foe will also yield. If we begin to distinguish the absolute values without which we would rather die from other values which are subject to discussion, we may well find a core of values shared by all who believe in a social order guided for and by the masses of humanity, trusting humanity to find its own way without coercion from the top, whether the top be economic, political, religious, or conceived in any other authoritarian terms.

It may be replied that years ago the Soviet Union might have been willing to participate in some such compromise with the West, but that the time has passed and now all responsible Soviet leaders are determined to go ahead without flinching. My answer to this is first that it is very hard indeed to know the inner recesses of thought of the Soviet leaders and to know whether the die has really been cast in favor of a pursuit of their own goals with absolutely no place for compromise. But I would say that even if we knew categorically that every member of the Politburo had reached such an irrevocable conviction, a psychological question would still remain open: Will they and their successors inevitably continue to behave this way? Over and over again in history, periods of absolutism have been followed by periods of uncomfortable, yet ultimately workable compromise. Two or three weeks ago many would have said that the issue between Pakistan and India had got beyond all possibility of control, and that violence would have to be more and more open and explicit until full-fledged war occurred. The whole situation is changed today.

If it be replied that the Russians have in countless instances refused to compromise, the only comment one can make is that the same is true of us also; and the psychological necessity does not consist of proving that they are worse offenders than we are but in beginning all over again, humbly and patiently, to seek and to find a way of compromise which is endurable both for them and for us.

The Wizards' War

BY STUART MUDD

Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania

THE technological development of weapons of offense and counter-offense in the Second World War led Winston Churchill to call it the "wizards' war." That a wizards' atomic war would devastate material civilization, degrade personal and political freedoms, and wither spiritual aspirations is obvious. How could men, struggling for survival in the rubble of their cities, continue, in Secretary Acheson's ringing words, "to inquire into the relation between man and God, to study the nature of the universe, to explore the purpose of human society"?

President James B. Conant of Harvard has stressed that the outcome of a future atomic war between two such scientifically and technologically competent countries as the United States and the U. S. S. R. would be essentially unpredictable. No one can say with certainty who would be the technical "victor," but that both sides would lose immeasurably in all real human values can be predicted with assurance. In view of the very certain devastation and the wholly uncertain outcome, such a war could not be undertaken by any sane and responsible leadership on either side.

The unpredictable elements in the situation have been indicated by public announcements made within the past few weeks. "The efficiency of biological-warfare anti-personnel agents and munitions cannot be known short of actual use," Secretary Johnson declared, "but when all factors are considered, including the psychological, it must be assumed that attacks with biological-warfare agents could be very effective."

It is my personal belief as a bacteriologist that the possibility of initiating destructive epidemics has been grossly exaggerated. Nevertheless, biological weapons could become a nasty form of sabotage and a very ugly complication of other means of destruction.

Chemical warfare, though it added to the miseries of the First World War, was hardly used in the Second. The subject has recently been revived by a statement of Major General Anthony C. McAuliffe, chief of the Army Medical Corps, before the American Chemical Society, concerning "nerve gases" designed "to reduce a potential enemy's will to resist." "It must be assumed . . . that we are not the sole possessors of the offensive and defensive secrets of the new nerve gases," he declared.

To these weapons in the arsenal of the future wizards' war may now be added agents of radiological warfare, quite outside the lethal radiations produced by the atomic bomb. These were also discussed by Secretary Johnson.

A full account of the development of submarines, guided and homing missiles, radar, sonar, proximity fuses, manned and unmanned aircraft, and so on may be found in Dr. Vannevar Bush's "Modern Arms and Free Men."

The latest addition to the prospective arsenal of a future war is the hydrogen bomb. As an instrument of devastation and mass slaughter this bomb is in a class by itself.

The point is that no man can possibly be informed enough to predict the outcome of this wizards' warfare, and no people should be so reckless, irresponsible, and immoral as to permit such a war to occur.

We need, then, to dedicate ourselves anew to the finding of constructive and peaceful solutions of the intricate problems which have always confronted men as they "have struggled upward, working out the brute." The necessity to find creative solutions has become more urgent and more difficult as scientific and technological progress has placed unheard-of powers in the hands of men with ancient ambitions, rivalries, and hostilities. And improvised solutions are not enough. Human relations should be included in the program of the National Science Foundation, which is in process of Congressional authorization. We should have institutes within our universities and enjoying special endowments in which human relationships in their every aspect would be the subject of scholarly and scientific investigation. And I think we should support with the utmost determination and generosity the program recently outlined by Secretary Acheson and President Truman with reference to making the Free World a world more fully worth living in by *all* peoples.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can We Disperse Our Cities?

BY WILLIAM F. OGBURN

Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

WE SHALL be living for a very long time under the threat of the atomic bomb—a grim fact, but one to be faced, especially by all those who are working for a better world and whose judgments are likely to be biased by hope. This statement is based upon three assumptions: (1) We have no assurance that the United States will not be engaged in another war, even under a One World government. (2) The international control of atomic energy does not guarantee that bombs will not be made and used in a long war. (3) Military defenses can be broken through by carriers of bombs.

The threat of the bomb is greatest to those living in the cities of the northeastern United States and along the Pacific Coast which have the largest number of manufacturing plants engaged in essential war production. There are from twenty-five to fifty such cities. If the war industries were scattered outside the cities, within a radius, say, of fifty miles, the hazard would be less. The present trend is for new industries to be located in the suburbs and satellite towns, but at not very great distances from the metropolis. Practical obstacles to placing them farther away are the labor supply and the provision of public utilities. With more industries in outlying places, more funds would have to be assigned to the nation's transportation budget, and more time allowed for traveling.

Opposition to the decentralization of industry and population must be expected from real-estate owners, urban taxpayers who do not want to move, merchants, newspapers, local politicians and elected city officials, and Congressmen from urban districts. All these elements have tried to taboo any public consideration of the subject. The most appropriate organizations to take the lead in a deconcentration movement are national trade and industrial associations, and perhaps the military organizations. The decentralization of industry would be furthered by an international agreement not to bomb cities which have no large war industries or stockpiles—even though the agreement should eventually be broken.

The more rapid the decentralization the greater will be the disorganization and cost. Defense through decentralization should be undertaken, therefore, on a time scale quite different from that used in the preparation of such defenses as fighter planes, radar nets, and the like. To prepare for a war twenty-five or fifty years away, decentralization should begin now.

II. CAN TOTAL DIPLOMACY AVERT TOTAL WAR?

Power Politics

BY HANS MORGENTHAU

Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

THERE are three ways in which a nation can try to obtain its objectives on the international scene: it can go to war, it can accumulate overwhelming power, or it can negotiate a settlement. War today is no longer the instrument of diplomacy it was in times past. It is no longer the continuation of diplomacy by other means. War now destroys the victor with the vanquished.

Overwhelming power is no longer at the disposal of the United States, and will not be at the disposal of the United States in the foreseeable future. There was a time when it was conceivable that the United States and the Soviet Union might arrive at a negotiated settlement of the outstanding issues between them on the basis of the supremacy of American power. President Truman's announcement of September 23, 1949, has forever destroyed that possibility. There remains then, only one alternative to war—a negotiated settlement with the Soviet Union.

This idea is, in this country at least, highly unpopular. The other day James Reston, the diplomatic correspondent of the New York *Times*, reported from Washington that the leading officials of the State Department were absolutely not interested in a negotiated settlement with the Soviet Union. If this is so, they must be interested in only one thing, and that is to go to war with the Soviet Union.

But of course, they are not interested in that alternative, either. The whole dilemma of American foreign policy lies, in a nutshell, in this juxtaposition of a citizenry which does not want war with an impossible policy which can only lead to war.

Let me say a word about the arguments which are generally advanced against negotiations with the Soviet Union. They are essentially three. First, the Soviet Union does not keep agreements. Second—and this is the gist of Mr. Acheson's California speeches—one can negotiate only from strength. There must be a situation of fact. There must be certain objective conditions which lend themselves to a negotiated settlement. And since those conditions are not present, no negotiated settlement is possible at present. Third, the Soviet Union would negotiate with us only with the aim of dividing the world into spheres of influence, a method unacceptable to the United States.

Let me say a word about those three arguments. The first is correct. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union has violated many of its international agreements. The official count of the State Department puts the number of violated agreements at forty. The quantity is irrelevant. But in order to understand the relation between foreign policy and faithfulness to agreements, it is necessary to go back a little bit in history, back to 1945.

The whole history of the world is strewn with broken agreements. It is one of the principles, you may say, of diplomacy, of statesmanship, to keep those agreements which seem to be advantageous to one's national interest and to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

violate those which are disadvantageous to one's national interests. You may call this a cynical or immoral attitude, which, of course, it is. But it is nevertheless very general. There is no nation which has not at one time or another in its history violated international agreements. Mr. Churchill has testified in a speech delivered in the House of Commons in January, 1948, that in his experience the Russians have kept all those agreements which seemed to be in their interest.

The second argument, the argument of timing, is more important. It is indeed true that there is a time for negotiations and a time for no negotiations. I have no quarrel with the principle laid down by Mr. Acheson in California. I doubt, however, the soundness of the practical application which Mr. Acheson gives to that principle, for a year or two ago exactly the same principle was advanced by the State Department against a negotiated settlement.

It was said then that we were not strong enough. In 1952, perhaps, when we still have the monopoly of the atom bomb, and when Europe has regained its political and economic strength, then we will negotiate. In retrospect this was certainly an erroneous calculation. That is to say, the timing of the State Department was certainly wrong in the past, and with the loss of the American monopoly of the atom bomb, there is nothing in the strength of Russia and the United States which could make one believe that in the foreseeable future the United States can regain that preponderance of power which it once had.

A year or two from now the Russians will have not only the atom bomb but a stockpile of atom bombs. It is true that we shall have more atom bombs than they. But it is a matter of indifference whether one country has one hundred atom bombs and its adversary has one thousand, for one hundred atom bombs are enough to smash all of the industrial centers of the United States.

There is also the question of the hydrogen bomb. If the hydrogen bomb can be made at all, we are going to make it—and perhaps we shall make it a little bit earlier than the Russians. But the Russians will make it too, and on a much enlarged scale, and the same problem will then arise which now confronts us with regard to the atom bomb. The balance of power cannot be restored between two nations each of which can stockpile atom or hydrogen bombs.

Now I come to the core of the matter, and that is the problem of spheres of influence. The Russians have time and again, indirectly, directly, and through all possible channels, suggested a settlement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the basis of spheres of influence. The negotiations have never started; so nobody knows what the Russian conception of a sphere of influence would be. But it is one thing to doubt such negotiations will ever succeed—and I myself am not optimistic enough to say that they have a chance to succeed—but it is quite another thing to reject from the outset the very idea of the division of the world into two spheres of influence. Two great English figures, Winston Churchill and Arnold Toynbee, have repeatedly proposed a settlement of the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union on the basis of spheres of influence. Mr. Churchill, in his great House of Commons speech of March 28 (incompletely reported by our press; only the passage referring to the rearmament of Germany was fully reported), pleaded for the negotiation of a settlement before it is too late. But those words were not considered fit to print in our press.

I grant you, this is nothing to excite the American nation. It is not an idea that appeals to the hearts of men. It has been tried many times. It has frequently succeeded, and sometimes failed. However, the history of the relations between Russia and the West is replete with examples of successful negotiations aiming at the division of the world into spheres of influence.

There is nothing new in the situation which confronts us today with regard to the Soviet Union. It is not a question of revolution. It is a mere question of power politics. If the Russian armies standing now at the Elbe were not the armies of Stalin but the armies of the Czar, is anyone bold enough to say this would not be a threat to the vital interests of the United States?

It is in order to prevent exactly what the Russian armies threaten to Europe that this country has gone to war twice. Only then it was a threat emanating from Germany and not from Russia. That is to say, the United States, from Jefferson onward, has always regarded the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe as being in its vital interest. It makes no difference whether the millions of Russian soldiers standing in the heart of Europe profess the creed of Marxism or the philosophy of Christianity, as the armies of Alexander I did after 1815 when England's Castlereagh and Canning opposed their penetration of Europe, and in 1877, when Disraeli sent the British fleet into the Black Sea to prevent the absorption of the Balkans by Russia.

I think it is a big mistake to put the revolutions of Asia in one pot with the so-called revolutions in Europe and consequently make impossible any understanding of the present world situation or the creation of a successful American foreign policy. For it is an obvious truth that in no country in Europe has Bolshevism succeeded except as a by-product of Russian imperialism. What we call the Bolshevist revolutions in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and so forth were not revolutions at all. They were manufactured by the Red Army in order to give Russian imperialism a foothold in Central Europe.

I grant you the situation is different in Asia, but I have no time to go into that. Let me say in conclusion—there is more intelligence and responsibility in the State Department than the foreign policy of the United States leads one to suspect. But the State Department is the prisoner of its own propaganda. It has raised the red scare, and now that bogy is turned against it. I am sorry to say also that we have a President whose talents in the realm of foreign affairs are absolutely unequal to the enormous task that world history has put upon his shoulders.

In such a situation the people have an enormous task. For since there is no one in Washington who can lead them, the people must push their government in the right direction. And for the people it is no longer a question of colonies, of moral principles, of a strategic frontier here or there. It is for all of us a question of life or death.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pinpricks or Policy?

BY JOHN K. FAIRBANK

Professor of History, Harvard University

TOTAL diplomacy means, first of all, the mobilization of our intellectual resources. We can avert total war in Asia roughly in proportion as we understand the revolution going on in all aspects of Asian life and forestall Russian use of the revolutionary movements. If we can bring about a stalemate, some stabilization of Russian-American relations can emerge. Total diplomacy calls for an over-all policy applied in a coordinated manner among the various regions of Asia and applied at all levels—military, economic, political, social, informational.

As an example of coordination among regions, take Japan. Japan is the one great potential base of industrial-military power in Asia. We must keep it out of Communist hands. To do this we must, among other things, foster a healthy foreign trade so as to give democracy a favorable economic environment in Japan. But any growth of Japan's foreign trade involves the rest of Asia immediately. And so our Japan policy must dovetail with our policy efforts elsewhere.

Looking at other regions, we must recognize that in China there is no immediate alternative to the domination and leadership of the Chinese Communists. The new regime faces great problems but is not likely to be superseded for some time. A policy of pinpricks, as by making an American military gesture in regard to Formosa, will not drive the Communist regime out of China. It is more likely to cement it in power and increase its dependence on Russia.

The current attempt to use our disaster in China as a political weapon in domestic American politics is not only a disgrace to the Republicans who are making it but also an advertisement of our own intellectual weakness concerning Asia. One McCarthy is probably worth ten divisions to the Chinese Communists and many more to the Russians, by making us look to Asiatics like fools consumed by our own fears.

Our real defense against Russia's Asiatic expansion must begin at home. Fantasy is no basis for foreign policy; yet public discussions are currently being conducted on the fantastic assumption that American policy has been the main determining factor which has "permitted" the Chinese Communists to win their twenty-year competition for power in China. This widely accepted fancy overlooks the fact that China is a sub-continent of some 450,000,000 people, three-quarters of whom live in villages unconnected by modern roads, without electricity, literacy, a modern press, or other contact with the outside world, and who have been engulfed in a process of revolutionary change for a generation past.

Realism further demands that we do not underestimate the strength of international communism in its approach to Asia's peasant villages. Through the local Communist Party workers, it makes direct contact with the masses in the rice fields. We may strengthen the governments in the cities of Asia, yet see them lose control over the peasant villages which still form the real center of Asiatic life.

However, since communism offers the Asiatic peasant so much less than we could offer him, if we only knew how to do it, this long-term appraisal of our danger in Asia should be no cause for pessimism or defeatism. There is no question that we can do the job, once we realize what it is and that it must be done. We must concentrate now on Southeast Asia. Here are seven steps to begin with:

1. A greatly increased number of American personnel must have the chance to understand Asia's problems by direct experience on the spot, at the rice roots. How many of our present Asia experts have ever swung a hoe in a paddy field? We must send young people and practical workers into the countries of South and Southeast Asia, not just diplomats, scholars, or administrators. We must get to know the people, not just their rulers in the cities.

2. A purely top-side approach to the revolutionary situations in Asia is inadequate. We must get contact on all levels, not just through the established governments and the ruling upper strata of society. We are not out to by-pass or subvert these governments but to help them. Yet in the long run American aid to any government in Asia can be the kiss of death if it causes that government to rely on American aid instead of on its own people. We will gain nothing by finding puppets and keeping them propped up as targets for Communist attack. Consequently, we must avoid channeling all American effort through the local governments, putting ourselves in the local regime's pocket, or underwriting any particular clique or faction.

This means that the great private sector of American life, the whole diversity of agencies, corporations, institutions, associations, and groups which represent our strength against totalitarianism, must develop active programs in Asia, in addition to our government programs.

3. Private American activity to supplement our government programs in Asia is particularly necessary because the problems of government there are much more than military or economic. The old native societies have fallen into disorder, the old ethic no longer holds, the old way of life has been shattered, family relationships weakened, social classes confused, loyalties broken down. There is consequently a great need for new social organization, the building up of public groups and movements—a student movement, a youth movement, a labor movement, a cooperative movement, a women's movement. Literacy, health, production, political activity—all have to be encouraged and fostered. The Communist parties in Asia organize these things in their pattern as a basis for Communist power. In many areas we still have time to help organize Asia's newly emerging societies in an independent non-Communist pattern, as a basis for an independent national life. Private American citizens, with their genius for pluralistic social organization, can help this cause more effectively than the government can alone.

4. Since private activity overseas will develop only slowly if left to itself, we need government initiative in this approach. A National Commission on United States Relations with Asia, appointed by the President and modestly financed by Congress, is needed to survey our opportunities and resources for private contact between peoples, and to facilitate it. For example, federal funds made available for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

travel grants between the United States and the Far East and allotted to qualified persons by screening committees would help to bring Asia almost as close as Europe.

5. Public understanding of Asia is a first necessity, which the American press must help to supply. Public information on most areas of Asia is still grossly inadequate. How many press services or leading papers in the United States have been reporting the birth pangs and first steps of the New United States of Indonesia, a nation of some 70,000,000 people? We stand to lose to Communist expansion any area of the world concerning whose problems we remain uninformed and unaware.

6. As to strategy, this constructive long-term effort to forestall communism in Asia, as opposed to last-minute attempts to exterminate Communists, must be most vigorously pursued in regions of Asia where Communist-led rebellion or civil war has not yet got under way. We must help build healthy societies on the periphery of Asia, at the farthest extreme from Russian influence. Indonesia and the Philippines, from this point of view, require more emphasis than Indo-China. We must seek a defense in depth, and an eventual social "counter-offensive," based on the island areas strategically most accessible to us, rather than concentrating our resources on building a military dike or a Maginot Line against communism somewhere in Indo-China or other areas next to China. We must appear in Asia as long-term friends, not last-minute would-be saviors.

7. Personal contact must also take priority over material aid. The things which we ship to Asia may be misused and indeed wind up in the hands of the enemy. The technical skills which we make available may also fail to solve Asia's social problems. It is by no means certain that economic betterment, of itself, will head off revolutions. On the contrary, a good historical case may be made for the thesis that revolutions are led by people who are already rising in the world and want to rise faster. All the forms of our material aid can go astray unless they are guided by Americans who have been on the spot and got experience at the rice-roots level. All international relations in the end become personal, and there is no hope for a new approach to Asia which stops short of contact between American and Asian individuals of all sorts. Reliance on our material power will undo us. We must approach revolutionary Asia with a revolutionary spirit.

This means sending to the spot young and vigorous Americans capable of responding in an American way to the challenge of the Asian revolution. In dealing with the problems of densely packed masses of humanity in the rice fields of Asia, we shall probably have to learn from the Communists some of their methods of mass organization and indoctrination. Our missionaries began the Asian revolution a century ago, as the spearhead of Western contact, but the Communists in many cases have now taken the lead in fostering social change. To get back the leadership we must adapt ourselves to Asian realities and use the forces of literacy, cooperation, community organization, and applied technology which the Communists, on the whole, have borrowed from us.

American participation in the Asian revolution is bound to inspire some of our American youth with a revolutionary fervor. The revolutionary spirit will be essential if we are not to lose Asia to communism in the end. We had better start getting used to the idea that American ideals applied to Asia mean social change and rapid change, not preservation of the status quo. If we try to stand still, we shall be left behind.

What Total Diplomacy Means

BY MAX ASCOLI

Editor and Publisher of the Reporter

IT WAS not easy at first to know what Secretary Acheson had in mind when he launched the new slogan, total diplomacy. The Secretary's most recent declarations, and particularly his speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, made it clear that he meant global politics—total conflict short of war.

It seems to me that the basic characteristic of today's gigantic conflict is a condition that I would call world civil war, an unprecedented condition invalidating any policy that attempts a solution applicable to one of the traditional conflicts of power politics. It cannot be considered a mere ideological struggle. In our conflict with Soviet Russia we are dealing with an extremely powerful, remorseless opponent which has a double set of weapons at its disposal, an opponent that is a great power and at the same time the permanent agitator for civil war in nearly every country in the world.

It seems to me that by focusing our attention on the purely military or power-politics side of the conflict with Russia, we are in danger either of precipitating a foolish armament race or of vainly complaining about the armament race. The one stubborn fact that makes it difficult to establish a binding agreement with Russia is that as a basis for such a binding agreement the Russian government should assume complete responsibility for all weapons, military or political, that are at its disposal.

At this stage of the conflict the Communists know that only by destroying the United States can they achieve world domination, but they also know that Stalinist methods of subversion are of little use here. They must rely mainly on the spontaneous disruption of our economic and political structure, which, according to the Marxist theory of history, is bound to come. In fact, Stalin is a liberal as far as America is concerned: he has no choice but to trust us, alone among the peoples of the world, to bring about our own doom. He approves of our press when it conducts trial by headline, free from any statute of limitations and from any rule against multiple jeopardy. He is heartened whenever he sees how ready we are to pour our economic and military resources into every country in which he decides to start a civil war. And he is certainly grateful to the Americans who make up for the strong Communist Party we haven't got by mobilizing ghosts.

Our government is defending itself with a sort of shy, harassed, and often belated wisdom. Its deeds are sometimes better than its words. But no government can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

successfully fight a civil war without the aroused and organized support of its citizens—certainly not a civil war of this kind, world wide in scope. Moreover, like the two world wars, this civil war on which our existence depends has not touched our soil. This puts us in a position of great advantage as compared to the countries of Europe and of Asia, but it also exposes us to the danger of squandering foolishly our political and economic resources.

At long last the time for the people to do their part is coming. If, to close what is called the dollar gap, European products are to be thrown into the American market, many sections of our economy are going to be dislocated. It will hurt. Local communities, trade unions, chambers of commerce will have to pool their energies and inventiveness to solve the problems of reemployment and retraining.

We have learned now—or should have—that dollars alone will not do the job of opposing communism. The only gifts offered to foreign nations that will make any difference are those whose effects will be multiplied by the uses to which they are put—gifts that the receiving governments will utilize to make basic reforms in productive techniques or social organization so as to release the latent energies of their peoples. If we stipulate conditions of performance, however, they will have to be reciprocal—conditions that we demand and conditions that we are ready to live up to. We cannot ask the other nations to put their houses in order if in our own house we cringe behind tariff barriers and subsidized exports. We can give an example of how the peoples' productive energies may be released by letting every one of our citizens, no matter what his race, color, or creed, go as high as his intelligence and character can take him.

To a very large extent I think that is what Mr. Acheson means with his otherwise slightly unfortunate expression, "total diplomacy." He means that there is a need for actual mobilization of all the forces of our country to do the things that our government is in no position to do, to formulate principles that our government may not be in a position to proclaim.

Total diplomacy will require organization, initiative, clear declaration of policies, concrete actions by trade unions, chambers of commerce, every organized force in the nation to cushion the many dislocations that are bound to occur. This certainly is what Secretary Acheson meant by total diplomacy. He could have found a better expression, but we know what he meant. Total war would irreparably ruin us as well as the Russians. Total diplomacy is the well-rounded attempt to stop the advance of communism by tackling directly the causes that make for communism. At the same time it is accompanied by enough military preparedness so that our weakness will not tempt the Communists to make war on us. Total diplomacy is based on the belief that there is no longer a line of demarcation between internal and external affairs, just as communism has eliminated the line of demarcation between war and peace. In this all-out conflict with Soviet Russia that is called cold war, total diplomacy is the major attempt to save the West—short of war. If it receives enough popular support it will prevent total war.

A Really Bold New Program

BY DEWEY ANDERSON

Director of the Public Affairs Institute

WHEN we speak of Point Four—the bold new program for technical and financial cooperation with underdeveloped countries—we are proposing to change the face of the earth with something other than the H-bomb. In addition to some fifteen billion dollars of our national budget already devoted to military preparations annually, we are discussing with a dozen European nations a rearmament program for them calling for twelve to fifteen billion dollars to be spent in the next five years.

But even a speeded-up arms race is premised on some period of peace. Whatever its length, I submit that we had better fill that time with constructive efforts which will win us democratic allies and, by their peaceful nature, perhaps lead away from war.

The underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are distinguished from other areas in that three-fourths of their working population is engaged in agriculture, largely on a primitive, non-commercial, subsistence level. Twenty-eight of the fifty-three independent countries of the world are underdeveloped in this sense. Their per capita incomes average much less than the equivalent of $100 a year, with our own more than ten times as great. They form two-thirds of all the people on the earth.

By the year 2,000 the world may have 3,870,000,000 inhabitants, an increase of 1,490,000,000. Of this number 1,310,000,000 will have been added to the already dense populations of the underdeveloped countries. This pressure of people on living space and food supply may well transcend in importance any single problem of the next fifty years.

Are these people in the underdeveloped countries to become merely pawns in a world power struggle? Or are they to have an opportunity under peaceful conditions to emerge from their blighted past? The answer rests largely with our own conception of Point Four, how boldly we formulate it and how cooperatively we put it into practice.

A boldly planned Point Four is essential to the success and development of the United Nations. Only the United Nations can operate an effective program of investment for underdeveloped countries, for only there do the great and small sovereign nations meet to pool their strength and take action on a cooperative basis.

American assistance sincerely given through the U. N. will be less subject to the charge of Yankee imperialism. World sentiment will rally to the support of such a position. The goal of an adequate Point Four program should be to raise the income and affect the standard of living of all the people steadily and rapidly for the next fifty years. This will be best accomplished by shifting about a fourth of the workers from primitive subsistence agriculture to industrial work, the professions, and other pursuits. At the same time the food base will be strengthened by improvements in agriculture.

Our own experiences and those of other advanced nations indicate that the rate of population growth is slackened

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

noticeably with the shift from primary occupations to industry and other services, and with the increase in living standards that results from this more productive use of manpower. Such a change should strengthen the democratic forces in the underdeveloped countries and give them a greater stake in freedom and peace.

We conceive of this bold new program as requiring a "get-going" period of five years, during which the volume of effort, beginning small, will expand as rapidly as projects are engineered, personnel chosen, and financing secured. Two sorts of technical aid are needed:

1. High-level technical aid. These are the technicians, scientists, administrators, engineers, teachers, cultural anthropologists, agriculturists, surveyors, and researchers, working at the U. N. and in the field who can give advice and assistance to underdeveloped countries in formulating development plans for their countries, moderate intemperate enthusiasm, and project long-range programs.

We estimate that $600,000,000 would be required to finance the work of the several thousand high-level technicians who could become available during the first five years. We suggest that this be granted money—$373,000,000 by the United States, $227,000,000 by other United Nations countries.

2. Low-level technical aid. Of equal importance is technical help at a lower professional level which will give the masses of people more proficiency in their work and better living conditions. Specifically, we propose that 250 or more work centers be established in underdeveloped countries. Doctors and nurses, agricultural agents and machine-shop foremen will start doing and teaching in the villages and the back country. In five years a mass shift into more productive and healthful ways of living would occur, and the march toward the goals laid down for the bold new program would have started. We estimate that a reasonable expectation of growth would require a total of one billion dollars or more for the five-year period, to taper off thereafter as these centers accomplished their first major purposes. We suggest that this sum be provided as grants, half to come from the United States, half from other countries.

No technical-aid program by itself will set in motion those desirable changes. Both public and private capital in large amounts are essential. Many needs can and should be met only through government loans. Only when these investments result in social improvements and increasing stability of governments, in wealth upon which to base other business venture, can it be expected that any large-scale private capital will find its way into the underdeveloped countries.

We suggest several types of government loan funds, tailored to meet specific needs.

1. Across the globe one poor country after another has chopped down its trees for fuel and allowed its land to become barren. To create the basis for a decent life for the people, a vast conservation and development program must be undertaken. We suggest the establishment of an International Resources Conservation Corporation with a capital stock of two billion dollars, half to be subscribed by the United States, the other half to come from other member countries of the United Nations. This corporation would be chartered by the United Nations and operated under its supervision. It should provide government-to-government long-term loans for conservation purposes at the cost of money plus the cost of servicing loans.

2. Even in this country with its numerous banking and lending facilities vast areas have been in need of capital to launch profitable and much-needed enterprises. We suggest that the United Nations establish a Cooperatives' Revolving Fund to two billion dollars, half to be subscribed by the United States, and the other half to come from other United Nations countries. Low-cost loans from this fund would be made to underdeveloped countries upon certification by the F. A. O. that feasible cooperative projects were at a stage requiring such capital.

3. The Export-Import bank makes loans to underdeveloped areas. But its present practices do not entirely fit the needs of these countries for long-term, low-interest-rate money. We suggest that the authorization of the bank be expanded by Act of Congress by $2,500,000,000, specifically earmarked to meet these needs on terms calling for return of principal plus a modest servicing charge.

This new authorization should be open to American private interests which wish to use it for productive purposes approved by the country of investment. Moreover, it is suggested that the bank participate in technical-aid missions provided by the American Point Four program.

4. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is a United Nations institution. Its strict banker attitude has ruled out any large volume of loans to underdeveloped countries. Its charter should be broadened to provide for low-cost loans tailored to the needs of development projects.

5. American private investment in underdeveloped areas has been running currently at about $800,000,000 annually, including reinvestments. This will decrease as the oil companies, which account for a large share of it, finish their foreign developments. If the United States underwrites a bold new program of Point Four activity, it can be expected that, even in the initial stages, an expansion of private business investment will take place. If this basic underwriting is not provided soon, and in volume, then because of the unsettled condition of the world, no large amount of private investment in underdeveloped countries will be made.

Point Four will probably become law in the United States within a few weeks now. The legislation which is likely to be passed will launch the new program, partly as a United Nations enterprise, partly as a bilateral technical-aid scheme conducted by the United States government. But the measure will not provide the underpinning necessary to carry out the investment features outlined above. That essential part of the program will probably await action of the Eighty-second Congress next year.

The technical-aid bill will provide some funds for U. N. agencies, which should allow a small beginning after other nations have made their contributions. To this extent our action will implement Point Four at Lake Success. It will also provide funds for United States agencies operating in the same field. An attempt is being made by proponents of the program to provide the first machinery for cooperation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and clearances between these two efforts. Most important of all, as this legislation passes and becomes operative under the direction of the U. N. and the President, we must make certain that we have launched an effort that is not prevented by law from advancing to fill the need in underdeveloped countries. But this will not happen without much organized understanding and support within both the United States and the other members of the world family of nations.

The World in Revolution

BY LOUIS DOLIVET

Editor, the United Nations World

IN THE last hundred years the world has witnessed six major types of revolutionary movements: national revolutions for independence; anti-colonial revolutions; social-reform revolutions—also known as bourgeois revolutions against the vestiges of the feudal systems and the like; anti-monarchist republican revolutions; Communist revolutions; counter-revolutions of various types, ranging from fascism and Nazism to personal power dictatorships.

During the last ten years these six major categories have been reduced to three or really to two. The Communist revolutionary movement has absorbed, for all practical purposes, the various violent social-reform movements and has created a central leadership directed by the Soviet government. The counter-revolutionary fascist-type revolution is, for the time being, in regression, and expresses itself more on limited national and local levels. The anti-colonialist independence movement has gained in strength and today embraces every colonial dependence on earth. The two main revolutionary forces are the Communist and the anti-colonialist movements, which often tend to merge, at least in the preparatory stages, when a considerable amount of common interest prevails, until in the end either an independent nationalist government or a Communist rule is established.

Thus, the Soviet Union is in a position to assume the active leadership of great parts of Asia, to play an important role in Africa, to combine its efforts with the have-not sectors of society in Latin America and in Europe. The only countries in which Communist activity has no practical basis for operation are the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and, in the main, the Scandinavian countries.

The West, whose leadership is concentrated in the hands of the United States, has the difficulty of not being able to join hands sufficiently either with the national revolutionary movements or the social-reform movements of the world. The only powerful weapon the United States has is the anti-Communist philosophy and the increasing hostility on the part of the non-Communist left to the perversion of the Soviet system into a Russian-controlled operation manipulated by small cliques which are not subject to the decisions of any parliamentary majority, or even to workers' or peasants' control.

In my opinion, the only over-all program for the world on which the United States and the Eastern bloc could agree and to which they could create the necessary ideological and emotional attachments is the strengthening of the United Nations. The charter of the U. N. contains a sufficient program for social and economic betterment to serve as the point of departure of a humanitarian revolution, going beyond communism.

III. SCIENCE AND THE FREEDOM OF MAN

Scientific Regimentation vs. Human Welfare

BY HUGH C. WOLFE

Professor of Physics, Cooper Union; Chairman Federation of American Scientists

SCIENCE has been traditionally a product of free minds and a vital factor in the freeing of men's minds. Science has flourished in the last century, during which it has been pretty generally recognized that the facts of the material world cannot be regulated by the edicts of either temporal or ecclesiastical authorities and that the finding out of those facts is the proper function of scientists.

But in this atomic age science has lost much of its cherished freedom. For the first time science has begun to seem important to the national security. Naively, one might suppose that this would mean popular and Congressional concern for the further development of science. Instead it has meant that scientists are circumscribed by security regulations and hampered by FBI investigations and clearance procedures. Our Congress has usually chosen security through secrecy in preference to security through achievement. Fortunately, we have not yet come close to the extreme of such a program—which is to stop all scientific progress in order to be perfectly sure that no potential enemy might benefit from our progress!

Before going on to certain specific criticisms of Congressional and governmental policies in regard to science, I want to make two points clear. First, I recognize that there are secrets of military technology which ought to be safeguarded in the national interest and that security clearance of persons who are to have access to such secrets is reasonable and necessary. Second, I recognize that Congressmen are just Americans who got elected to Congress and that their ideas and attitudes are pretty much the same as those of other people who read the newspapers. The problem of getting more enlightened Congressional action is largely the problem of creating a more enlightened and resolute public opinion.

Now for some specifics. In the absence of a much needed National Science Foundation, our United States Atomic Energy Commission has been supporting a sizable program of research fellowships in fundamental science, the bulk of it in non-secret, non-military areas including use of radioactive tracers in cancer research and in improvement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of fertilizers for agriculture, development of particle accelerators for studies in basic physics, etc. Of course, all who had access to secret information were investigated and cleared as required by the Atomic Energy Act. But the others were selected by the National Research Council on the basis of scientific promise and achievements by the same criteria that would apply if the funds came, for example, from the Rockefeller Foundation. Then, last summer, Congress got excited and tacked an amendment onto the appropriation bill requiring that all AEC fellows must be investigated and cleared, whether they had any access to classified information or not. The National Research Council then, very properly, said that it could no longer administer the fellowship program and the Atomic Energy Commission decided that it must cut it down. However, even under this limited program, I have recently been informed that available fellowships are going begging. Not that there are not enough young scientists who could pass the security tests—the loyalty record of scientists is as good as that of any other group in our society, I am sure—but that they believe such investigation of their private lives and private thoughts to be wrong in principle, except where the national security really requires it. And the kind of performance Senator McCarthy has been putting on in Washington tends to make anyone wonder whether he can afford the personal risk involved in serving his country in any capacity where security is thought to be involved.

Just a few weeks ago, the House of Representatives passed a National Science Foundation bill. Its purpose is the support of non-secret, non-military, basic scientific research. Atomic energy is specifically excluded, and any military research undertaken would involve special clearance procedures. But the House had to add on an amendment requiring all fellowship holders to be investigated by the FBI and requiring the FBI not only to investigate but also to make the final determination of their acceptability as security risks. This attempt to make the FBI function as detective, judge, and jury has been denounced by the Department of Justice and the FBI itself as tending to turn the FBI into a state police such as exists in totalitarian states.

I have every confidence that the conference committee of House and Senate, to which the bill has been referred, will succeed in eliminating this un-American provision. But we see here a clear instance of the relation of the freedom of science to the freedom of man. Scientists are in a position where their freedoms and civil liberties are under attack. All of us should realize that if totalitarian state principles are adopted for dealing with scientists, no other group in our society can feel secure in its freedom.

Democracy and freedom are still strong in this country and I am confident that we shall keep them so. But if the price of freedom is eternal vigilance, the price of democracy is the acceptance of individual responsibility. The action of the House on the Science Foundation bill shows that we are not just dreaming up bogymen when we see in the current hysteria over security a serious danger—the danger that our opposition to the police-state philosophy will lead us to adopt that same philosophy ourselves.

The Scientists' Responsibility

BY ANTON J. CARLSON

Professor of Physiology, University of Chicago

IN MY judgment the individual citizen's responsibility to society parallels that citizen's understanding of man and nature. If this is even approximately correct the scientist's responsibility to society exceeds that of most of his fellow-citizens. But where do we go from here? Are the scientists living up to this important responsibility? To do so, (a) all scientists must realize that they are scientists *and citizens* and therefore cannot limit their activities to the ivory tower of science; and (b) scientists can and must apply the scientific method, that is, base their social thinking and actions on the best evidence available on the issues facing mankind.

The science of biology has proved beyond a doubt that the present human population of the world is one species, and is therefore probably able to achieve practically the same progress in the physical, intellectual, social, and moral realms, given approximately equal opportunities and environments. As we know man, past and present, this must be achieved through genuine peace, understanding, and honest cooperation. It cannot be achieved through deceit, force, war.

In the past hundred years the biological and medical sciences have made great strides in discovering and controlling the micro-organisms which produce disease and death in man. Where this understanding and skill are available the average life span of man, with better health and greater happiness, has been nearly doubled. Now we are cultivating some of these deadly organisms to kill and maim our fellow-men in other lands. To me, a biologist, this does not make sense. It is not in line with our ancient name: *homo sapiens,* wise man. For many of the men, women, and little children thus to be killed or maimed will have no responsibility for the real or fancied threats to our national security, irrespective whether such threats originate in police states or in democratic states.

We are, or should be, seriously concerned about the injurious pollution of our air and our waters by modern industry and modern urbanization in many nations. Now we are spending billions to produce atomic bombs, which when exploded will not only kill or maim our fellow-men, innocent or guilty of trying to harm us, but may also poison our air, our water, and our soil, possibly for thousands of years. We boast of our own ethics and religion. To this biological scientist, atomic-bomb warfare is, or would be, more in line with that part of the brain which we have in common with the snake and hyena than with that part which renders, or can render, man superior to other species.

There can be little doubt that the miseries brought on by over-population and mass starvation provide a fertile soil for violence and war. For the greater part of man's past, disease, starvation, and murder—that is, violence and war—were the main factors limiting the population in every land. If we could achieve world peace, world cooperation, and universal education, we could greatly minimize disease as a factor in retarding the process of over-population. But even with disease and violence or war rampant, all animal species,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man included, tend to reproduce beyond the capacity of the land and the sea to provide enough food for health and happiness. What is our answer to this tragic dilemma? Shall we stop modern medicine? Shall we proceed with more destructive global wars? Is universal starvation our final goal? The science of biology can aid us on this issue. Men do not have to reproduce like oysters and rabbits. To bring children into this world, children to face starvation, is certainly cruelty to children. This world problem is not given adequate attention by our fellow-citizens, because we still have more good food than we can eat. But as we look at the three and a half billion human beings now on this earth, we realize we must practically double the food production in every land to feed them adequately. This is probably beyond the capacity of soil and sea.

One of the greatest obstacles encountered by the scientist when he tries to meet his social obligations on serious issues, national and international, is the difficulty of securing proved facts on which to base his judgment and action. Responsible political leaders, however, totalitarian and democratic, do not follow this principle. Even on serious issues they may engage in artistic lying and baseless propaganda. How can even the sanest and best-informed citizens in a democracy act wisely on important issues thus obscured or perverted? What can a scientist or any other citizen do when responsible political leaders proclaim that they work and plan for world peace while at that very moment they are doing their utmost to get ahead of other nations in readiness for war and violence? Progress in science demands absolute adherence to truth. In my judgment, the facts of science should be available to all men in all lands. In the long run human progress and welfare will be due to understanding facts rather to actions induced by hopes or fears created by falsehoods.

Progress and Security

BY R. LAWRENCE SIEGEL

Counsel, Academic Freedom Committee, American Civil Liberties Union

ONE of the great questions of our day is how great restrictions we can impose on scientists for security reasons, without violating our basic tradition of freedom. In fact the question cuts deeper. How far can we go in curtailing scientific freedom for the sake of security, without impairing security itself, as well as scientific progress?

These are serious questions, for the security and prosperity of the United States depend today more than ever before upon the rapid extension of scientific knowledge. They demand an answer because science has come of social age. It has come out of the laboratory, the province of the select few and has become a public, an international, possession.

We are all aware that the realities of the cold war require special attention to national security, particularly in the field of science, since modern warfare is very much a matter of scientific know-how and a powerful ideological foe is determined to obtain access to high scientific secrets and information. The problem certainly exists; but so does our precious heritage as free men.

I think it would help us to understand the problem if we defined security. Security must be distinguished from loyalty. Security cases deal with membership in organizations, associations, and political parties, and with the political activities of oneself, one's family, friends, and close associations. Loyalty cases are in quite a different category. Common types of loyalty cases involve the unauthorized disclosure of information, acts of physical sabotage, conspiracies to overthrow the government by unlawful methods, and making official decisions under the direction of a foreign country or group. Loyalty cases clearly involves illegal acts. Security cases involve administrative definition and application.

There has been a good deal of misinformation on the whole subject of security risks. One consequence is the plethora of suggestions on both official and private levels concerning measures that would give us security in the realm of science. It does not seem to be general knowledge that at present no person in America is given access to classified information having to do with the atomic bomb or other secret scientific data or material until he has been completely investigated by the FBI and his loyalty determined by the Atomic Energy Commission. This fact should be borne in mind amid the counsels of despair and hysteria designed to bring measures of censorship, suppression, thought conformity—all tending in the direction of a police state and very much away from our traditional free past.

There is an idea current in the land that merely because science is international and respects no national boundaries, every scientist is a suspect person and hence is to be carefully checked and policed in his professional and private life. There is a tendency, therefore, to place special restrictions on scientists, to ignore the fact that the scientist is a citizen, a member of society, and entitled to full freedom of thought, speech, press, and association.

Another fact which brings the issues posed here into sharp focus is the recent unprecedented growth in the number of civilian scientists employed by the military. This necessarily increases the censorship on scientific activity. The real question to be answered is: How can we preserve our national security and at the same time protect the freedom of scientists, upon whom we are so dependent?

Here are the suggestions which occur to me:

1. National security generally does not require, or even permit, government intrusion into the domain of freedom of thought in research, no matter what shape this intrusion takes. Secrecy is not congenial to free research. It is the proved enemy of science and democracy.

2. Security measures, where justified, should be limited to cases of clear necessity, limited, in fact, to particular instruments, machines, and processes. The accused should be guaranteed genuine hearings on stated charges with due process observed.

3. Security is not to be enforced as a military measure or under the jurisdiction of the military. We must preserve our heritage of keeping military power subordinate to the civil authority. We must recognize that security is not a mat-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ter of weapons but a matter of people and ideas secure in the knowledge that they are being offered equality of opportunity to pursue a free life, and that their government guarantees their rights, and does not invade or stifle them.

Censorship and suppression create defeatism and intellectual Siberias. It must not be overlooked that to achieve national security on a military level we must continue our research unhampered except where restriction is clearly needed, because of a particular necessity.

Specifically, in my opinion, what we need is a joint board of scientists, government officials, and qualified members of the public to formulate a policy which will guard secrecy and at the same time permit the unfettered advance of science. This board would have, of course, the advice of the military and of the executive and legislative branches of the government. It would remove material from the classified lists as soon as the public interest permitted.

I think that if we adopt a policy based on the premises outlined above, we can solve the problem of security, and also preserve our traditional liberties.

The Teacher in a Free Society

BY ERNEST O. MELBY

Dean, School of Education, New York University

EVERY now and then some person asks me this question. "How does it happen that there are so few Communists in the teaching profession?" The reason is that a true education is possible only in a free society. And within the teaching profession you will find as widespread a devotion to human freedom as in any group inside our society.

The sciences that throw light on the nature of the human organism and on human behavior tell us in unmistakable terms that each individual human being is a unique organism. The meaning for education lies in the recognition that the only society in which the individual human being can really be himself is a free society.

If that be true, then it is absolutely essential that education be conducted in such a way that the person being educated is at all times free to be himself.

We are interested in freedom of teaching because we are primarily interested in freedom of learning. Freedom to teach does not mean freedom to teach what is not true. Freedom to teach does not mean interference with the processes of learning pursued by the student. It does not mean freedom to distort the truth, to stack the cards, to get in the way of the growth of the individual who is learning.

One of the very disturbing things these days is the fact that we seem, as a people, to have misjudged the nature of the battle in which we are engaged. We apparently do not see that all totalitarianism is really an idea, and that you cannot kill an idea with a gun. To kill an idea, you must replace it with a better idea in the mind of the man who cherishes it.

We ought to remember that no education which consists of indoctrination can possibly equip us to grapple with a police state. Only girls and boys who have been thoroughly schooled in the process of discovery of truth, who have had all doors opened to them, can survive in the present battle for human freedom.

No faculty of a university or school that is timid, fearful, browbeaten can possibly equip students for this battle for freedom. Our society is not going to be free unless the minds and the hearts of its people are free.

IV. THE POTENTIAL OF ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACE-TIME USE

Atoms at Work

BY EDWARD U. CONDON

Director, National Bureau of Standards

THE peace-time uses of atomic energy fall into three clearly recognized categories. There are two ways in which radioactive materials are used: the first is as tracers in chemical and biological research and in the associated applied sciences of medicine, agriculture, chemical engineering, and metallurgy. This research tool would yield invaluable fruit over many years in the form of developments in those sciences which use it. Radioactive isotopes are available for wide distribution. The techniques of using them are becoming more and more widely known, and many research projects in this field are being carried on.

The other use of radioactive isotopes—for this somewhat larger quantities are necessary—is in the therapeutic treatment of tumors, as radium has been used in the past. The isotopes offer several advantages over radium: they are not merely cheaper and more plentiful but less hazardous, while equally beneficial. The needed radioactive materials are the abundantly available by-products of our atom-bomb production. This work calls for intellectual effort by the best research people and therefore proceeds slowly.

The third use of atomic energy, in the production of power, is a controversial subject. It is important to realize that the costs are by no means negligible. A great deal of the cost to the consumer of any type of power is due to the cost of distribution. The production of atomic power—that is, the particular development of nuclear reactors in such a way that they give energy which can be converted into electric power for distribution—will be excessively costly at the generating stations. I do not think that in our economy, with its supplies of coal and water power, the development of atomic power will have any revolutionary effects.

Of course the situation is different in the undeveloped areas of the world, especially those which are undeveloped

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

because they are poor in water power and coal. There it may be worth while to utilize power from a more expensive source, such as atomic power is likely to be. However, countries which now have to pay too much for the usual kinds of power will not be able to afford an atomic-power development unless it is supported by charity from other regions of the world.

The problem is being worked on at present by the Atomic Energy Commission, primarily with a view to ship propulsion, which is one of the fields in which atomic power is most likely to be useful. In ship propulsion a tremendous proportion of the cost of power lies in the freight capacity taken up by the necessary fuel. If one could achieve great weight reduction and independence of refueling bases, it would be economically valid to pay more for the power than a city should pay for its power supply. I think that it is wise to concentrate on ship propulsion for another reason: the technical problems that it presents are similar to those that might be solved in developing other kinds of fusive power.

Yet I cannot help feeling that we have not pushed even this vigorously enough. I think that had anywhere near as much energy been spent on the development of atomic power as was spent on the war-time bomb project, we would have solved the technical problems of atomic power by now, and we should have had some power plants running.

Of course atomic power might have proved so expensive that it would not be worth while socially. The great thing about bombs, from the technician's point of view, is that people are prepared to buy them at any price, whereas atomic power—they want a bargain on that.

I want to touch on two other topics that are related. You have heard of the water shortage out West. But the shortage is not only out West—or in New York. Water supplies are low throughout the United States, even in parts of the country that we ordinarily think of as well-watered.

The problem of water as a natural resource is a most important one, and we are starting in our bureaucratic way in Washington to give it a lot of attention. Much thought is being given to the use of distillation schemes on a really large scale for the production of water in such quantities as will be useful for cities or recreation purposes. Our dwindling water resources are just as alarming as some of the other problems which we face—erosion of the soil, exhaustion of oil, and so forth. But that does not mean that one should try to solve these problems by fancy methods when simpler ones are available.

For my own part, I find this talk of distillation of sea water through heating by atomic energy and/or coal or solar energy rather silly as long as we allow any river to empty into the ocean. There is no point in pumping salt water out of the ocean and distilling it, and then pumping it right back up a river and letting it run into the sea again. We have not yet done what we could to solve this problem by inter-river projects conceived on an enormous scale. Nor have we given adequate consideration to the reclamation of water from sewage.

It is difficult to give a talk on atomic power with any content in it—and the one I have just given does not have much content—because of the security and secrecy restrictions imposed by the government. We need not publish blueprints of bombs, but there are many issues on which the public could be and should be better informed than it is. I have always been rather annoyed by a sort of double line followed by the A. E. C. Even David Lilienthal used to make speeches in which he told the people that they should be better informed, but at the same time he didn't give them any information. Of course, you must realize that Lilienthal's hands were tied by policies laid down by Congress. Unless things have changed in recent months, even the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy do not know how many bombs we have.

In conclusion I want to read from a speech that was given by Robert F. Bacher in Los Angeles some time ago. Bacher is an atomic scientist who was formerly a member of the A. E. C. and is now director of the Norman Bridges laboratory at the California Institute of Technology. This is what he said after he became free to express his views:

"In a democracy it is only possible to have good government when the citizens are well-informed. . . . There may be some cases in which the information which the citizen needs in order to make an intelligent judgment of national policy must be kept secret so that military potentials will not be jeopardized. The present use of secrecy far exceeds that minimal limit. These are the methods of an authoritarian government and should be vigorously opposed in our democracy."

Too Big for Private Enterprise

BY NORBERT WIENER

Professor of Mathematics and Logic, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

MODERN industrial life depends on a continuous supply of power. At present rates of production, the oil furnished by our oil wells is expected to last a few centuries. Other sources of power, such as vegetation and water power, are certainly not adequate to provide for an indefinite future at our present rate of expenditure, and it appears that we have grossly overrated the possibility of using low-grade energy such as the tides.

The importance of atomic energy depends, then, on the time scale of which we are speaking. If we are speaking of decades, it is highly questionable whether we should gain anything from the exploitation of sources of atomic energy on a large scale. If we are talking of centuries, we must begin to think very seriously of the use of atomic energy; and if we are talking of millennia, there seems to be no hope for the continued existence of the human race on a civilized level without the efficient employment of atomic energy. If we can employ atomic energy at the full rate suggested by the conversion of matter into energy without any residual unused part, the now very questionable future of our human occupation of this world may well be a matter of many millions of years, and it becomes highly probable that the race's ultimate extinction will be the re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sult of intrinsic biological factors rather than of scarcity.

Although atomic energy is plentiful when we obtain it, the investment in apparatus and materials necessary to bring us to the point of obtaining it is large. Cyclotrons do not come in pocket sizes, nor are they operated on household current. Thus we can see that the production of atomic energy cannot begin until we have at least moderately large-scale and expensive apparatus, and it must be production on a large scale indeed to be able to amortize the enormous preliminary expenses. We cannot escape the fact that atomic energy, if it is to pay off at all, is "big business." It is much too big business to be allowed to continue in the loose control of private hands. It is business of the order of magnitude of the state itself; and either the state must swallow it or it must swallow the state.

The form of the future exploitation of atomic energy begins to appear. It involves enormous generating plants, and it will not be cheap or even practicable unless we are prepared to make use of the overwhelming quantities of energy coming from these plants. This means that we shall be forced to provide for vast new uses of energy. Moreover, the energy which is produced will not be in suitable form for the propulsion of moderately sized vehicles or boats or implements. In order to convert it to these uses, we shall probably have to revise our entire concept of storage of energy, and either greatly perfect our existing storage batteries or manufacture synthetic fuels whose function it will be to act merely as safe and controllable carriers of energy. We shall then use the large new wells of power at our free disposition in order to revise our chemical and metallurgical industries from the ground up. It is highly possible, for example, that our now waning supply of metals will be augmented by the use of electrolytic processes so prodigal in energy and so dependent on low-grade ores that they are simpy unthinkable at the present time. Again, we may hope for synthetic plastics which will make the maximum use of a number of cheap and plentiful materials, such as sand and limestone, together with some sort of carbon, and which will cut into many of the fields now dominated by wood and other cellulose products. They may even begin to compete much more seriously with the metals as materials of mechanical construction.

A large-scale use of energy is likely at some stage or other to change completely our system of agriculture. At present the engineer thinks of water as something which flows down hill into the ocean and thereby generates power. With large sources of atomic power available, the separation of sea water from its salt will be much more practicable than at present, and our rivers will be replaced by pipe channels in which the freshened sea water and such freshwater sources as are otherwise available will be pumped up hill; so that our agriculture will depend on universal irrigation. This will eliminate the large lacunae of practically unused country which still fill our maps and the eyes of travelers. This new country of the future which we will be forced to create by the logic of our new atomic and other inventions will be a man-made country, like Holland, and not a nature-made country like the greater part of the United States and Russia at the present time.

The most completely man-made regions which we now know are the Dutch polders, reclaimed from the bottom of the Zuyder Zee. Recent magazine articles have made us familiar with the general economic patterns of the new Dutch lands. Land that comes easy may not seem to us to be subject to any great degree of material regulation, but land that is built from the bottom of the sea is no longer a raw material to be given to the first newcomer to exploit. Individualistic as the Dutch naturally are, they are not so individualistic that they are giving this rich polder land to any man in fee simple.

The land is rented and only to those superb farmers who are in a position to get the most out of it and at the same time conserve its value for future generations. When a country invests so large a part of its substance for the benefit of its ultimate future, it is not disposed to give up its rights in the future to the first passer-by. This is socialism, and it is a form of socialism which is inevitable when the very land that we live on and the very water that we drink are the product of the severe effort of the whole community.

Let it be noted that in the matter of tenure of land by fee simple, Los Alamos is on the same basis as the Dutch polders. No person is tolerated there if he has no function to fulfil, and there is no way in which one can buy one's way into the community permanently. On the other hand, the problem of personal freedom is probably more difficult, and less adequately adjusted, in these military camps than in the new lands of the Zuyder Zee.

The new centralized atmosphere of the age to come is likely to lead us in the direction of "big brotherism." This tendency must be countered by a continuous awareness of its dangerous possibilities. If we allow our politicians to identify "big brotherism" with a reasonable interest of the community in those things which the community has accomplished, we may be forced into fascism when the present laissez faire methods have failed to outlive the age of oil and the age of coal. In the future we can no more conserve our liberties as squatters in areas of moral anarchy than we can be squatters on the highly developed land on which all of us will live. We shall enjoy our rights of freedom as explicit rights rather than merely as potential servitudes which no one has as yet taken the trouble to impose upon us.

Primer of Atom Economics

BY WALTER ISARD

Economist, Harvard University

ATOMIC power costs cannot possibly be foreseen at this stage. There is little substance to existing estimates, which range from roughly three to sixteen mills per kilowatt hour. We can perhaps expect that atomic power will compete with coal, oil, and gas under the most favorable conditions, but not with power from the better hydro sites.

Direct effects upon real income and industries in general should be noticeable but not extraordinary; they may be of considerable consequence for certain specific industries and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trades—for example, the development of new aluminum capacity. Indirect effects through the introduction of new commodities and processes can be revolutionary but here one can only speculate.

Although we know very little about what nuclear power costs will be, it seems probable that capital costs for nuclear plants will be much higher than for conventional steam stations. This affords a key for understanding the likely effects of atomic-power development on various regions and nations.

1. Nations which lack capital and must pay high interest rates for capital will probably face higher nuclear-power costs than those which have plenty of capital. It is the industrialized nations, whose industrialization has been based upon domestic supplies of good-quality coal, which do have capital. In general, nations without fuel resources do not have capital, since capital accumulation depends upon previous industrialization, which in turn depends largely upon fuel. This means that backward and undeveloped places face a serious initial handicap.

2. There are of course undeveloped areas where good sources of power remain unutilized—for example, the Belgian Congo; here the explanation lies in political and cultural as well as other economic factors. In general those countries which are "passive" culturally are not apt to benefit from atomic power.

3. The less industrialized "aggressive" nations face initial handicaps in addition to the lack of capital for construction of atomic plants. In the first place they have only small unfolding demand for power. It seems likely now that atomic power will only be cheap where produced in large blocks. And secondly, the utilization of atomic power requires heavy investment in power-consuming machinery. Here again capital is a prerequisite. Thus, for example, Italy and Argentina, although deficient in fuel, probably cannot be expected to realize the full potential benefits which atomic power might offer.

4. France and Britain and countries with modest to fairly large amounts of capital have potentially less to gain because they have modest to large fuel and energy resources, especially Great Britain; but probably they will benefit more from atomic power because they have the means.

5. Actual gains probably will be greatest in the two major nations—the United States and U. S. S. R. In the United States huge amounts of capital have been voluntarily accumulated. In Russia vast amounts can be acquired through forced saving.

One can only speculate on which of these two may benefit most. Economics provides few techniques for analyzing change in already industrialized areas. However, what we do know enables us to make certain tentative statements.

Rapidly growing nations can more easily digest and extensively apply a major innovation; rapidly growing population generally means a mobile labor supply. Opposition of vested interests is considerably less. Risk of loss is cut down by rapidly expanding markets. The Soviets would seem to have the edge from this standpoint.

The U. S. S. R. does not have as excellent fuel and energy resources as we do, in either quantity or quality. And per area and per capita it certainly has significantly less. Perhaps then, it has more to gain on this ground.

There are strategic industrial areas in Russia, such as the southern Urals, to which fuel is transported over considerable distances. It is such areas which seem most capable of absorbing huge blocks of atomic power.

Atomic power is more likely to be revolutionary for new and unique uses and processes than for existing ones. Young and rapidly growing industrial nations generally can capitalize such unique uses better than nations which already have reached a high level of per capita industrialization.

The United States at present has superior human resources —skills and know-how—which if maintained will of course mean a significant advantage in working out the problems of atomic energy utilization.

Although atomic power requires tremendous governmental controls to expedite its utilization, it is generally agreed that the utilization of major innovations of this sort can be stimulated most within a framework of free enterprise.

On balance it would seem that the Soviet Union has more to gain, economically, than the United States or any other nation. This is an uncomfortable thought for us. But if we wish to maintain our highly desirable competitive system of enterprise in a peaceful world, it is certainly best that we give it frank recognition.

V. POSSIBILITIES OF AGREEMENT ON ATOMIC WEAPONS

The Role of the U. N.

BY CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

Director, American Association for the United Nations

THE United Nations is the essential factor in any agreement for the control of atomic energy and its use for peace and abundance. Without the United Nations no agreement can or will be reached. For one thing, the United Nations is both the symbol of and the means for promoting the moral unity of the world, which is essential if agreements far-reaching enough to control and utilize atomic energy are to be concluded. In the second place, only through the United Nations can a third force be introduced as a mediating factor between the two great atomic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

It is difficult to see how these two powers could reach an agreement by themselves without consenting to a division of the world into spheres of influence. However, over a billion and a half people living in other countries, led by such divergent elements as India, Mexico, and Australia, could be a third force operating to bring the world together

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than to divide it. These billion and a half people, in a world of anarchy, would have little chance to make their influence felt, except as they associated with one or the other of the atomic powers. But through the United Nations they may exercise a powerful, possibly the deciding, influence in obtaining an agreement for the control of atomic energy. The tragedy of President Hoover and the few who echo his statements is that they do not realize that over half the people of this world do not wish to be forced by either the United States or the Soviet Union to choose sides. There will be world-wide resentment at Mr. Hoover's presumption that the United States could feel that it had the right to force these people to choose sides in a fatal and irrevocable division of the world.

In the third place, the United Nations must improve the climate of the world in which an agreement for the control of atomic energy can be reached. The time has passed when atomic energy was an isolated phenomenon that could be dealt with by itself. There might have been a moment, shortly after the bomb was dropped and while the United States had the monopoly, that a bit more reason on all sides could have produced an agreement. Probably not. Anyway, that time has passed. It is now generally realized that weapons of mass destruction cannot be dealt with apart from the entire armaments problem, involving all types of conventional weapons, personnel, and military budgets. And the armaments problem cannot be dealt with apart from the basic causes of the cold war, which requires the tremendous armament expenditures. Consequently, another effort to control atomic weapons cannot be separated from an effort to resolve the questions that divide Russia and it satellites from the Western powers.

An overwhelming effort should be made in the four and one-half months remaining before the General Assembly opens, on September 26, to prepare the way for widespread agreements. There are certain things that the United States can do between now and then that would aid very much: (1) The United States should reaffirm and demonstrate that the United Nations is the cornerstone of its policy, rather than an instrument for the cold war. (2) Total diplomacy should be defined in terms of a total United Nations policy. (3) At the forthcoming conference of Foreign Ministers of the Atlantic Pact countries the United States should clearly avoid any effort to strengthen the Atlantic Pact at the expense of the United Nations Security Council.

I wish there could be a moratorium on tough statements on all sides. Nothing could better indicate the overwhelming desire of the world for peace than the fact that it takes in its stride incidents and tough statements which in another day might have brought war. It should be the task of statesmen, demanded by the public, that preparation be made between now and the opening of the fifth regular Assembly to enable that Assembly to set the feet of the world firmly on the path dreamed of at San Francisco. What the public demands and the statesmen do in all countries between now and September 26 will determine whether we march down hill to disaster or upward to salvation.

An Interim Control Plan

BY DAVID F. CAVERS

Professor of Law, Harvard University

ANY plan for world control of atomic energy that promises security, that is more than a moral gesture, must be complex. The necessary machinery of control is without real precedent in the world's history. Moreover, in democratic nations the plan must have enough popular support to be politically feasible. Accordingly, it is important that in this period when neither side is officially "ready to settle," the search for a potentially acceptable, workable plan should be steadily pursued on an official basis.

We now are in an interim—the interim between the discovery of the chain reaction and the development of the economic use of atomic power. Until the end of the interim, there is no non-military need for the large-scale output of fissionable materials. Hence an interim plan does not have to solve the problem of how to distribute large-scale atomic installations and their output among the nations of the world. And as long as this interim persists, we shall lack the facts necessary to work out a permanent plan of control.

Today, we know that much of our knowledge of nuclear fission is shared, and that while we may be ahead of the Russians at some points, they may be ahead of us at others. We have no monopoly to jeopardize by an interim plan.

Whether a control plan is feasible on an interim basis depends on whether it exacts such sacrifices of both sides that neither side will enter into the plan unless ready to abide by it. Fortunately for an interim plan, the demands it would make of both sides seem in reasonable balance. Each would have to give up some knowledge. We would surrender our larger stockpile of bombs and, with this, whatever deterrent value it may have. The Russians would surrender the secrecy with which they have cloaked their atomic and auxiliary installations and, with this, whatever protective value that secrecy may have. It seems improbable that either side would gain enough temporary advantage to induce it to enter the interim plan for that reason only.

But what are the advantages of developing a plan on an *interim* rather than a *permanent* basis? Let me repeat the central fact on which the interim plan would rest: while the interim lasts, we have no non-military need for large-scale atomic installations and stockpiles. Therefore the plan could forbid all large-scale operations and require both the dismantling of all large-scale installations and the disposal of all existing stockpiles. By these provisions the plan would automatically eliminate two of the three dangers a control plan must guard against—the dangers of seizure and of diversion. The plan would remove the danger of a nation's seizing the large-scale installations and stockpiles within its bounds because none of these would exist. It would remove the danger of diversion of small amounts of fissionable material from the large-scale operations because there would be no such operations. The danger of diversion has been one of the principal reasons for the proposal that all large-scale dangerous facilities should be internationally owned, which Russia has bluntly rejected.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eliminating these two dangers would leave only one major hazard for an interim plan to guard against—the danger of the clandestine building of reactors and stockpiling fissionables. This, of course, brings us to the inspection problem. The absence of large-scale legal operations would, I submit, make the detection of small-scale illegal operations easier and so would simplify this problem. However, the problem remains difficult because any adequate solution will demand a greater price of the Russians than of this country. Obviously the Russians are relying for defense on the secrecy they have attained by becoming a hermit nation. Some of that secrecy *must* be surrendered if a control plan is to give security. What are the minimum requirements?

First, Russia, like the United States, would have to account to the control agency for the fissionables it has produced. For the agency to be satisfied that an accurate accounting had been made would require back-checking from the reactors to the mines, covering all the specialized, secondary supplying industries en route. This would be a difficult task. Complete certainty that no fissionables had been withheld probably could not be achieved at this late date. However, the process would disclose to the control agency the pattern of the supplying industries which would have to be drawn on if any large-scale secret operations were attempted. Frequent checks of these industries and their counterparts in other countries thereafter would provide a considerable safeguard; yet it would not compel disclosure of a major segment of Russia's military industries.

The second and principal safeguard would be the repeated checking of areas known or likely to contain source materials. Since under the interim plan only a small volume of fissionables would be required for legal purposes, few mines would be needed to provide source materials. Any mines yielding uranium or thorium that were not declared would be illegal, and the result of their detection would be very serious. Consequently, a nation would be taking a long chance if it opened secret mines in inspected areas. The area of source materials to be covered may be large, but it is not likely to extend to the immediate vicinity of industrial or other installations of military importance. Accordingly, inspection adequate to prevent any large extraction of source materials probably would not demand a serious one-sided sacrifice by Russia.

There remain five questions that an interim control plan would have to answer:

1. What provision should be made for research and development so that the plan would not deprive mankind even temporarily of the benefits of its magnificent achievement? Scientific research and medical needs could be met by small-scale facilities giving rise to no military danger. Provision should, of course, be made for their inspection and for the free exchange of scientific data.

To develop atomic power, however, would require larger experimental facilities and pilot plants. The estimate of Daniel and Balderston in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* for last January is that a pile for this purpose might produce fissionables enough for one atomic bomb per year. If that estimate is correct then the problem could be handled by inspection, even periodic inspecton. If, however, the development of the art should later require construction of a really large facility, this, I believe, should be a project for the international control agency itself.

2. What should be done with the existing stockpiles? The easiest solution would be to destroy them. For us this would mean sacrificing materials which have cost us about as much as a week or two in the last war. It would be a small price to pay for an effective atomic-control plan, but it would mean that, once an economic way to use atomic energy for industrial power had been found, there might be some delay in building up fuel stocks to the needed levels.

If there should be serious objections to destruction as being unconscionably wasteful, the plain might wisely provide for depositing our stockpile and the Russian stockpile with the control agency under such security conditions that the two nations and the rest of the world would be assured that neither nation could obtain its deposit except on the terms provided in the interim agreement.

3. What should be done with existing large-scale facilities? Probably dismantling plants would suffice for security. Equipment of great value might be turned over to the control agency for storage. Some demolition might be necessary.

4. How would the plan become operative? Would this require a series of stages? Now that Russia has atomic armaments of its own, the device of stages has little value. However, perhaps at the very start of the plan the two atomically armed nations should take some step to attest their good faith, such as the deposit of a prescribed quantity of fissionables with the control agency. The really hard problem at the start is to account for past production, and even the Russian proposals have allowed three months for that.

5. How should an interim plan be terminated? It might run for a period of ten years with provision for automatic renewal if notice for renegotiation were not given at the end of the ninth year. If during the original period or in any renewal period any nation could demonstrate an atomic power plant meeting prescribed standards of efficiency, the plan would be terminable on one year's notice. During that year a permanent plan could be negotiated, taking account of the possibilities and the control problems presented by the new development.

But suppose the plan were terminated by violation. Then either the situation created by the violation would soon be settled peaceably by mutual agreement, or war would follow. Whether a refusal to settle were registered by a veto or by non-compliance with a majority ruling seems to me relatively inconsequential. Surely the veto issue is one of our easier problems.

I have outlined an atomic-control plan that would, I believe, give a high measure of security against atomic attack and would not exact a great price of any nation in terms either of its military security or of its economic and scientific progress. The plan would not rule out the ultimate use of atomic armaments in war, but it would give very substantial assurance that no nation had or could gain a large supply of A-bombs with which to launch a surprise attack

There exists a risk which the plan does not fully meet. The risk is that hydrogen bombs could be built with deu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terium either alone or plus small amounts of tritium. The plan would protect against large-scale clandestine operations; it might not prevent small-scale operations. The chief protection against these is that they would not be worth the risk of getting caught. Suppose a nation did succeed in withholding some fissionables from the initial accounting and then, with small-scale secret mines, refineries, and reactors, added to that supply until after ten years or so it had explosives for, say, thirty A-bombs. Since that nation would lack the large-scale facilities necessary to add rapidly to the supply, those thirty A-bombs, though a formidable weapon, would scarcely induce it to launch an atomic war. If, however, thirty hydrogen bombs could be secretly built, using the same atomic explosives for detonators, the situation might be drastically altered. The vast power their possession conferred might induce their owner to launch an attack.

I think we have some reason to hope that this danger may be unreal. In the first place, man may find himself unable to make any hydrogen bomb whatever. Second, it seems likely that it would be much harder to make an H-bomb with deuterium than with tritium. Fortunately, tritium can be produced only in atomic piles, and therefore its production in large quantities would be exposed to detection. Finally, the testing of any H-bomb would require an atomic explosion, and this could not be kept secret. An unsuccessful first test might therefore be disastrous to the experimenting country.

The uncertainties which surround this last question are naturally greater for the citizen without access to classified data than for the informed official. For that matter, public discussion of any aspect of the atomic-control problem labors under the same handicap. This means that we must present our views tentatively when we discuss atomic-control questions. It does not mean, however, that in this field we must surrender our citizen's prerogative of thinking and of saying out loud what we think.

The Quaker Proposals

BY DR. CORNELIUS KRUSE

Chairman, Department of Philosophy, Wesleyan University

LAST fall the American Friends Service Committee published a report entitled "Some Quaker Proposals for Peace" which attempted to discover how the tensions between the United States and Russia might be relieved. No one should suppose that this report represents a final program for the complex of America-Soviet relations. In fact, events move at times so quickly that even now the report is in need of revision, not in fundamentals, but in some specific recommendations.

We divided our report, as all readers of it know, into two parts: (1) basic considerations and presuppositions reflecting fundamental convictions, and (2) specific recommendations, involving really a suggestion of areas in which, with wise statesmanship, tension could in our judgment be relaxed. The basic considerations we consider of fundamental importance.

I must say at the outset that the report is a reflection of three centuries of Quaker conviction about the tragedy and folly of war and of our faith in God and our belief in the essential sacredness of the human personality, irrespective of race, creed, or nationality.

Indeed, one of the first necessary presuppositions for any effort at overcoming the existing tensions is the belief that to a substantial degree men can shape their own destiny. We need first and most of all to dispel the fear that war is inevitable. We also need to remember that in a democracy it is every citizen's responsibility to help determine the policy of his government.

The report expresses the conviction that, barring mutual annihilation, which according to Einstein now seems possible, communism and the Western democratic system are likely to coexist for a long time. Neither can realistically hope to eliminate the other without eliminating itself. Sooner or later some accommodation will be necessary, and the sooner the better.

Much has been made of the intransigence of Soviet Russia and of Lenin's celebrated statement about the impossibility of the coexistence side by side of the Soviet Republic and "the imperialist states." But Marxist theory has proved itself flexible in Russian hands, and it would seem unwarranted to assume that fidelity to Marxism would stand in the way of peaceful coexistence if "new historical conditions" made such coexistence appear advantageous to Russia.

We often hear it said today that the relaxation of the existing tension by negotiations is something greatly to be desired, but can one trust Russia? It might be useful to remember that during the war, that is, in the midst of a great and present danger, Churchill felt he had to trust even the "surly, snarling partner." If the danger confronting us is as great as the scientists say it is, Russia and the United States cannot afford not to trust each other.

Another necessary presupposition is that since fear rules the world from one end to the other, it is the one thing needful to remove. But fear, patently, is not removed by increasing it. Certainly the present competition in armaments has in no wise abated fear.

It has been the experience of the Friends that frequently progress is best made by little steps. The little steps here suggested might conceivably make a big difference in our relations with the Soviet Union. These steps would affect three important areas:

1. Economic relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Restoration of trade between the United States and the U. S. S. R. would have little bearing on the war-making potential of Russia. Every effort should be made to enlist the cooperation of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries in the United Nations program of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. In order to increase East-West trade in Europe the attempt to correlate the export policies of Marshall Plan nations with the present United States export controls should be dropped.

2. A German settlement. To achieve a settlement which will relax tension and avoid war we proposed (a) a new

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attempt to reunite Germany economically and politically, (b) the negotiation of a peace treaty with all Germany at the earliest possible moment, this to be followed by Germany's admission to membership in the United Nations and its many related agencies. The peace treaty should provide for a permanently neutralized Germany, neither "pawn nor partner," which could constitute a kind of safety zone rather than a source of friction. Germany should be included as a party to a general international or European arrangement providing for the control of armament, the allocation of coal and steel production, and the assurance of non-discriminatory access for all nations, including Russia, to German industrial resources. The fundamental principle would have to be adopted that no nation should have unilateral control over Germany's resources and that Germany should reenter the family of nations.

3. The importance of the United Nations. In the long run the most important of all our concerns is the development of the United Nations into an exclusive world organization. We realize that the way to such an inclusive world government must be searched for slowly and patiently, but it should be the goal of United States policy. The most immediately important problem—that of security against war—is one that no nation can solve alone.

The progressive elimination of national armaments would necessitate the creation of organizations for the international control of atomic energy and all armaments. The close interrelationship between atomic and conventional armaments should be recognized, and consequently all categories of weapons should be dealt with simultaneously. We hope that having made far-reaching proposals in the past, the United States will persistently seek means of getting the discussion of atomic-energy control out of the present impasse. There is so much agreement in principle between Russia and the United States that there should be no insuperable difficulty in practice.

Pending the conclusion of agreements on international inspection of all existing armaments, a convention outlawing the atomic bomb and providing for destruction of existing stock piles within a specified time should come into force. Meanwhile, there should be negotiated an immediate standstill agreement, coupled with United Nations inspection to verify its execution, and the existing stock piles of weapons should be put under United Nations' seal for a specified time.

The report advocates the support of all moves to strengthen the mediation and conciliation functions of the United Nations. Friends were heartened by Secretary of State Acheson's constructive proposal urging that nations agree to submit specific disputes and problems for settlement either to the Security Council or to the General Assembly.

Finally, it must be remembered that the basic struggle in our times is one of ideas and beliefs. Russia and the United States, though representing the two great concentrations of power, do not by any means divide the world between them. Do we bring to the rest of the world hope or fear, courage or despair? In this area actions will speak louder than words.

VI. DINNER FORUM—STEPS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

The World We Face

BY KIRTLEY F. MATHER

President-Elect of the Association for the Advancement of Science and Chairman of the Dinner Forum

IN MY opinion this conference, which reaches its closing session here this evening, is an event of great significance not only to you who have been permitted to participate in it, but to all the citizens of the United States and to the world as a whole.

As I have looked at the world, I have come in the last two or three years to some conclusions that are important to me. It is one world in a physical sense. But the world of humanity is a world of fragments. Some of the fragments are to the East and some are to the West, but I cannot draw a sharp line upon a map to separate the East from the West in any really significant sense. The pity is that the chasms that separate these fragments of humanity are wide and deep. Something more is needed than merely to build bridges of understanding and tolerance across chasms of prejudice and fear. Somehow we must find a basis for agreement that will permit the closing of the chasm, the fusing of the fragments of humanity. That, and nothing less than that, in the world of modern technology, must be our aim. There is still the chance that if we use the achievements of science in the right way for the right ends, we can make satisfactory adjustments between the inhabitants of the earth and the resources that support us. It is to this issue, and this chance, that the speakers tonight will address themselves.

A Challenge to Civilization

BY LORD JOHN BOYD-ORR

Former Head of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization
Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize 1949

WE ARE living in an age of great events. In our generation there have been two world wars, a world economic crisis, the spread of an ideology bent on the destruction of the economic and social structure of Western civilization, and, probably most important of all, an upsurge of the colored races demanding equality with the white race. This upheaval has been caused by the impact on human society of the new powers over the forces of nature which science has given mankind. Our civilization is faced with the chal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lenge of adjusting its political and economic structure to harness these powers to serve mankind. If it fails to accept that challenge it will be destroyed by the forces it has created.

We are in the middle of the greatest and most rapid transition phase in the evolution of human society. We can go forward but we cannot go back. To fight to maintain the status quo is to invite defeat. To use a biological metaphor, the chrysalis may evolve into a butterfly, or it may die, but it cannot reverse the process of change and become a caterpillar again.

The necessary adjustments are not easy. They must be on a scale commensurate with the new forces. The airplane and the radio have made the world so small and nations so interdependent that some sort of world government which will enable national governments to cooperate to keep the peace and develop the vast potential resources of the earth for their mutual advantage has become absolutely necessary. The alternative is a world civil war in which the new weapons will bring about almost universal death and destruction.

The advance of technology has changed an economy of scarcity to an economy of potential abundance. If the social structure is not to break down, because it cannot carry the burden of real wealth which modern science makes possible, the necessary financial and other adjustments must be made to create a rapidly expanding world economy which will absorb all that agriculture and industry can produce.

The upsurge of the colored races is putting an end to the great colonial empires ruled by small European nations. The alternative to a losing war against social unrest and revolution is a frank acknowledgement of the justice of their hopes and aspirations and assistance in their realization.

The challenge of modern science was recognized by men of vision during the First World War, and the League of Nations was set up to enable the nations to collaborate to keep the peace and bring in a new era of economic prosperity and social justice. But those in power did not realize that nineteenth-century international politics and economics could not carry twentieth-century science. They reconstructed the shattered world on the old pattern. It wobbled in the economic crisis of 1930 and crashed again in the Second World War.

Now we have made another attempt in the United Nations with its Assembly, where the nations may settle their quarrels by reason and common sense instead of with atomic bombs, and the specialized agencies, such as the F. A. O., the Economic Council, and the World Bank, through which they can cooperate to create a world of plenty and so fulfil the promise of the Atlantic Charter—freedom from the fear of war and freedom from want for all men in all lands.

But the United Nations organization is not working efficiently. There is a danger of its going the same way as the League of Nations, because the world is distracted by ideological differences and by selfish national and class interests. The Atlantic Charter for peace and prosperity has been replaced by the Atlantic Pact for a war of defense. Cooperation of the nations on a business footing to develop the resources of the earth for the benefit of all has been replaced by Marshall aid from a rich and generous nation which, alas, will receive little thanks. The poor, however humble and grateful outwardly, in their hearts hate and resent anything savoring of charity.

The world, instead of being united, is being divided by two new powers, each engaged in a feverish armaments race and trying to build up buffer states to take the first shock of war. Such is the highly dangerous impasse in which we find ourselves today. In the present inflamed political atmosphere an otherwise trifling incident may start a war which nobody wants.

Kirtley F. Mather

Some think that the destruction of our civilization in a third world war might be avoided by an agreement to outlaw the atomic bomb and a system of inspection to prevent its being made. No system of inspection could prevent the production of biological weapons, said to be even more effective than the atomic bomb, or of some new physical weapon which can be made without a large industrial plant.

Nor will an agreement to outlaw certain weapons be of any avail. The only thing which will prevent the use of any weapon is the fear of reprisals. The use of gunpowder was outlawed by the Catholic church. That did not prevent the first nation which made guns from using them. America with the atomic bomb had no fear of reprisals, and it did use it.

Any power threatened with defeat and the prospect of Nürnberg trials for any of its leaders who survive will throw in every weapon it can lay hands on. A limited war by agreement is an impossibility. The choice before human society today is total war with total destruction or the adjustment of the international political system to make war obsolete.

The only way to avoid war is to get the nations to cooperate to apply modern science to build a world of plenty and economic prosperity. By doing this they will create a community of interest which is the only basis for a community of nations. To do this we must go back to the Atlantic Charter in an honest endeavor to fulfil its promise, beginning with the fundamental one of freedom from want for all men in all lands.

Mr. Churchill said that if he won the election, he would go to see Mr. Stalin, and it has been suggested that Mr. Truman should go to see him. What would they say when they got there? The general idea is that they should try to reach an agreement not to use the atomic bomb. We cannot get permanent peace by agreements not to do things, agreements which, in any case, would be automatically canceled on the outbreak of war. The only kind of peace is a positive, dynamic peace which will help to reconcile economic interests and gradually eliminate the causes of war.

The nation which is surest of itself should take the lead by making an offer, not only to Mr. Stalin but to all nations, to cooperate in applying science through the United Nations

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

specialized agencies to develop the latent resources of the earth to abolish want, bringing about economic prosperity, with full employment and a great expansion of world trade which would benefit all countries, the highly industrialized as well as the poor, stricken, underdeveloped countries.

But attempts to do this by grants and loans from member states may fail. They arouse fear of economic domination and a sense of humiliation on the part of the recipients. It must be done on a business basis, by all nations putting funds into the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development in proportion to their wealth, those with no wealth putting in an I. O. U. which can be redeemed when their natural resources are developed. It must be made clear that the offer of collaboration is not primarily to stop the spread of communism in the interest of any nation. Communist nations should be invited to cooperate and share in the new era of prosperity and trade expansion, with a rapid rise in the standards of living which would make the present conflict between capitalism, socialism, and communism less acute. A rapid development on these lines, through the specialized agencies, would help check the spreading unrest among the colored races. Though the Communists take advantage of the unrest, the revolt is fundamentally against hunger and poverty, which the people now believe is unnecessary. The prospect of assistance through the United Nations agencies might rally those in revolt to the cause of law and order and peaceful evolution to political freedom and economic prosperity. In any case, it should now be abundantly clear that this upsurge of the peoples in Asia cannot be stopped by guns.

John Boyd-Orr

Such an effort would help to bring about the economic union of European nations. Present difficulties arise from the fact that every nation is fighting independently for its economic life. A world market which would absorb all that each could export would remove the difficulties.

The cooperative development of the earth's resources calls for credits on a vast scale. There is no insuperable difficulty in providing the credits if they are used to create wealth. Britain did it in the nineteenth century, with great success. Today, to avoid suspicion of economic domination, it must be done on an international basis, all countries sharing through the World Bank in creating the credits and in the resulting expansion of world trade.

Some say that the Russians will not collaborate. It may well be, however, that they have begun to realize that however much communism may appeal to the poor and oppressed, it has no appeal to those who enjoy political liberty and a rapidly rising standard of living. They may have learned that the evils that Karl Marx rightly hated have largely disappeared and that capitalism, rapidly reforming itself, will never fall either by open attack from without or by insidious penetration from within.

In any case, a proposal should be made by all peace-loving nations, to cooperate as equals through the United Nations, on a global scale, to abolish hunger, poverty, and disease and bring in a new era of economic prosperity. It may be that the Russians are as afraid of war as we are and would consider favorably an offer of collaboration made in all friendliness. If, however, the Russians refused, it would be clear that their real objective is world domination, a new and more terrible imperialism than the world has ever seen and one which nations with their own cultures, even the present satellite nations, will not permanently endure. In the unfortunate event of a refusal of Russia or any other state to cooperate, then all states willing to cooperate can join, leaving the invitation open for those who refuse.

International collaboration is inevitable. The nations that are prepared to work together might as well begin now, in the hope that wisdom will finally prevail and world unity and peace will be achieved, with a great forward movement of human society to a higher level of physical, cultural, and spiritual well-being than has been attained by even the most favored countries in the past.

The Bridge Must Be Built

BY AUBREY EBAN

Delegate of Israel to the United Nations

TO BECOME transformed overnight from a mere object of international attention into an active participant in the collective decisions of mankind is one of the many challenging experiences which have fallen to Israel's lot in these two adventurous years. Having anxiously watched other governments sedulously intervene in our affairs, we suddenly became endowed with a modest capacity of interference in theirs. We are fully persuaded that inexperience and recent arrival do not diminish the international responsibilities of newly emancipated states. Indeed, as we survey some of our more established colleagues we sometimes find it hard to discover a precise relationship between length of experience and infallibility of wisdom. In more positive mood, we become aware of the universal mission which Israel derives from its incomparable literature in antiquity wherein the doctrine of international cooperation was first proclaimed as the common heritage of mankind. These ideas from the past, together with our unusually central position in the geographical, social and political map of the present, may perhaps give to the political ideas of Israel a wider interest than our physical limitations would justify.

Any state desiring a quiet life would have done well not to be born in the twentieth century. This general truth assumes a special intensity, as the century proceeds toward its second half. Never in all his turbulent history has man displayed a more brilliant domination of natural forces and a more confused impotence in the social and political arts. It may be that this disparity is of our own seeking. We have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shown a deep ardor in the pursuit of material power and little or no ingenuity in the art of controlling and harnessing that power. The atomic crisis exists not because of our scientific success, but because of our political failure. Atomic power will be as beneficent or as destructive as we make it. It is neutral. It contains no automatic assurance of good or of ill. It can enliven or destroy; it can fructify or cause to perish. But whichever of these things it does, it will do with the most complete and total decisiveness. In each case it is our political success or failure which will determine the choice within our own generation. The business of international relations therefore becomes the transcendent concern of this age. It is not a specialized science; it is the issue of human survival itself.

It is natural that a world poised on this extraordinary frontier between Utopia and Armageddon should turn to examine the instruments available to international statesmanship for its most crucial test. The United Nations, torn by constitutional conflict, is under special scrutiny. Within five years of victory over a monstrous tyranny, the greatest coalition of history is in the throes of disintegration while its defeated adversary rises to new and militant life. The collapse of the war-time alliance and the resurgence of German nationalism are sinister monuments to the failure of the five years which have elapsed since San Francisco.

It is bad enough that a bridge of mutual tolerance has not yet been found between the Communist and the non-Communist world which once showed themselves capable not only of tolerance but of cooperation. Far worse is the fact that many have despaired of finding the bridge, while some even exhort us not to look for it at all.

Surely the first penetrating insight into these ideas will be sufficient to reveal their inadequacy. To say that states of similar social and political attitude can cooperate harmoniously is to say something of complete truth and of almost no value. That is not the problem which international statesmanship is called upon to solve. It is called upon imperatively to secure the coexistence of opposing doctrines; to harmonize the actions of divergent schools of thought, by finding a common purpose which can be asserted above their differences. Thus the United Nations would be evading its central task if it did anything to maintain or perpetuate the separation of the two worlds which it is called upon to unite under a common roof. Universality is the cardinal attribute of the United Nations, all the more so since no other tribunal exists which even affirms universality as an aim or a principle. Peace cannot be made by remote control. It can only grow out of contact. The absence of contact between the two worlds within a single constitutional framework would be one of the most desperate failures which we could envisage. It is an urgent international objective to insure that there shall again sit in all the organs of the United Nations representatives of five governments effectively controlling the territories of the five countries which have primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. Beyond that immediate aim lies the further objective of completing the universality of the United Nations by the admission of the excluded states, as well as of the newly liberated Republic of Indonesia. Not even this degree of constitutional perfection will automatically enable the United Nations to solve the atomic deadlock. Yet the repair of the constitutional breach before the next session of the General Assembly would at least render possible the resumption of the atomic discussion in its proper international setting. For these reasons I am among those who applaud the valiant and courageous efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations to restore the universality of the United Nations and to stimulate the processes of active consultation on world security as envisaged by the Charter. In searching for a solution of the problem of control and destruction of atomic weapons formal considerations, whether of absolute sovereignty or based on previous resolutions, will have little weight in the public mind anywhere if a new and effective compromise can be found.

For let us realize in all sobriety that the issue of survival will have to be settled in the existing divided world. It is of no avail to wish that ideological unity would embrace all peoples and thus solve the awe-inspiring crisis without fears. For when we utter such a remote wish we become tempted to conclude that until or unless such ideological uniformity exists, all peace-making is vain and futile. This very despair would, in its turn, paralyze all hopeful initiative. The government of Israel and its people are passionately wedded to the principles of parliamentary democracy which we regard as the highest expression of individual and collective freedom. Yet we should be rightly accused of defeatism if we were to assume that no regional peace in the Near East were possible until parliamentary institutions replaced the picturesque but authoritarian monarchies which persist elsewhere in the area. The same is true of the universal scene. Since no spectacular ideological conversions in either world are in sight, it follows that if we do not believe in peaceful coexistence, then we believe in the destruction of the planet.

Aubrey Eban

It may be argued that peace has prevailed within communities once divided against themselves only when a supreme and common purpose was found above the old divisions. It may be questioned whether there exists a world purpose common to both sections of the international community today and capable of uniting them above their differences. Surely the atomic era has removed that doubt. There is a common purpose which the peoples and governments of both East and West may be deemed to cherish with complete devotion. That purpose is survival, sheer physical survival. We no longer have to examine whether anybody is sincere in abhorring war. There

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may be some ironic providence in the fact that the atomic age has provided an incentive against war so powerful and universal that none can fail to perceive it. The consequences of victory are now so indistinguishable from the consequences of defeat that we need assume the existence of no advantage or interest which anyone can hope to fulfil by war. These are not conditions in which failure may be deemed inevitable or success beyond the reach of perseverance. For very few states can hope to have a nice cheap war with an assured superiority of purely conventional armaments. As far as I know the only place where that startling objective is being pursued is the Middle East—the eternal exception to all eternal rules.

Other speakers of incomparable authority have reminded us this evening that the roots of peace lie deeper than the diplomatic surface. Beneath the surface, the United Nations has found easier soil for its plough. The liberation of dependent territories has become a persistent theme. The birth of nations is still accompanied by much travail, but the international community lends invaluable and alleviating assistance. There is a marked difference between the democratic fortunes of new states which have come under United Nations influence and those which have not. It must be hoped that this liberating impulse will be maintained. I will allow myself an egocentric digression in order to suggest that this liberating record is somewhat mesmirched when, for a mature and ancient self-governing city, a constitution is drawn up which would have been an utter disgrace if applied to a backward and illiterate African colony a half century ago. Yet the last word on this unedifying document has not been said and on many sides the voice of repentance is heard in the land.

The truth is that there seems to be no prospect for an indirect approach to peace via economic and social cooperation, sidetracking the crucial political issues. On the contrary political tensions obscure even the objective solidarities of economics and welfare. There is then no escaping or evading the need for a new attempt at world-wide conciliation, an attempt unprecedented in its poignant urgency. There seems to be no more purgatory. It is one thing or the other. History and nature have brought us to a precipice. If we will not plunge over it we must in a matter of months take common action to turn back—and thence pursue the journey into the peace and the abundance which beckon from afar.

The Trouble Is Fear

BY TELFORD TAYLOR

Former Chief Counsel on War Crimes of the American Military Government in Germany

WHEN atomic techniques are within the grasp of all nations, and an informed public opinion has been developed we may approach the problem of general disarmament with far greater hope of measurable success. It will be the better part of wisdom then for us not to adhere too strenuously to the particular proposals, such as the Baruch Plan, which the United States has put forward in the past. As a step in the evolution of our national policy, the Baruch Plan has served a useful purpose. But it suffers from the defect which has marred much of our thinking in this field: it attempts to isolate atomic weapons from other weapons, and atomic science and technique from general science and technique. I am deeply convinced that any such attempt is contrary to the inevitable trend of scientific and military development. Certain features of the Baruch Plan —notably those relating to international inspection of atomic facilities—have a permanent validity which is adaptable to new situations. And it will be the high responsibility of many men from many lands—not merely of a few men in Washington and Moscow—to fuse what is good in these old proposals with new ideas born of new necessities, and so lead us toward the goal of ultimate general disarmament and international peace and order under the rule of law.

During the recent war the Hague conventions against the bombardment of undefended cities and the unnecessary destruction of buildings and monuments were set aside by the common practice of the major belligerents. So far as I know, no one was charged with the violation of these prohibitions in any of the major war-crimes trials. And I am therefore forced to conclude that these provisions are no longer part of the recognized laws and customs of war. Until those laws and customs are changed, by treaty or common acceptance, there will be no basis for condemning the bombing of cities—whether with conventional or atomic bombs—as "criminal" under the law of nations.

But this is the beginning, not the end, of the problem. We have no international sovereign legislature which can enact statutes to limit the bombing of cities but we do have ways of creating new international law, through treaties or conventions, or by the emergence and gradual formulation of what the Hague conventions call the "dictates of the public conscience." Certainly the world has never stood in deeper need of new international law to govern the use of the forces at the disposal of nations than it does today.

I think it is clear by this time that we should not place major reliance upon the simple propositions that the belligerent use of atomic explosives be prohibited by international treaty. To begin with, this notion does not correspond to the realities of warfare. Atomic explosives would surely be usable in the classical field of warfare between combatants —as between fleets or against the modern forts we call "bases"—and for defensive purposes as well as for attack. It seems obvious that any prohibition of such use would be disregarded in the event of war as soon as the occasion arose. Nor is there much logic in forbidding the dropping of an atomic bomb on a city and permitting thousands of gigantic planes to rain down tens of thousands of tons of "conventional" explosive or incendiary or poisonous bombs. If we do try to frame a prohibitory agreement for the protection of civilians and cities, we must at least take these considerations fully into account.

We have had some experience with a prohibition of this sort in the case of poison gas. Although the treaties of 1922 and 1925 outlawing gas warfare never obtained universal adherence, they did exemplify a world opinion—a "dictate of public conscience"—that gas warfare was un-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lawful. But this did not prevent extensive research by all the major powers in the development of lethal gases, or the manufacture and storage of gas in large quantities, or, indeed, the actual use of gas by the Germans in their extermination camps, though not on the battlefield. If today the great powers manufacture and store large numbers of atom bombs and build huge fleets of long-range airplanes useful only for bombing, a convention forbidding the use of these bombs in war time will surely be a slender reed to lean on. And it is almost certain that such a prohibition would be deprived of all its force by the first violation: a single transgression and the "lid would be off."

Finally there is great danger that in seeking a prohibitory treaty we may be distracted from the far more important task of devising a workable agreement for control and inspection of atomic resources and for a general reduction of armaments. We have heard much about "red herrings" in this country lately, but I am sure that this is a much more dangerous red herring, if such an impossible literary concept is permissible, than any of those which have been upsetting our more excitable Senators in Washington.

In conclusion I will venture to play the optimist and suggest that if war does not come in the near future, the problem of the atom may not seem so threatening and insoluble five years from now as it does today. Until quite recently our thinking about the question of atomic energy was distorted by the complacent but unfounded assumption that the United States alone knew how to use the atom as a weapon and would surely be preeminent in the field of atomic research for years to come. At the present time, I believe, many of us are still too ready to assume that the United States and the Soviet Union are the only powers that will be masters of the secret. I doubt very much whether this supposed "duopoly" is any more real than the previous monopoly, which proved to be a mirage. It is often overlooked that England and Canada had a large share in the development of the atomic bomb and are well advanced in atomic research. In France the atomic reactor at Chatillon began operations on December 15 of last year, and already plutonium has been produced. Much more rapidly than is generally realized, atomic reasearch is spreading to all countries of the earth. Even the smallest countries are coming into the picture.

The trend is obvious. Sooner or later atomic energy will cease to look like a bludgeon so heavy that only the United States and the Soviet Union can wield it and will appear as one of the normal and accepted facts of life. This will not, of course, completely dispel the fear of or eliminate the danger from atom bombs, but it will allow the problem to be discussed in a much saner and less tense atmosphere. Two important changes will gradually be manifest.

First, the "leverage" of countries other than the United States and the Soviet Union will regain some of its former power. As long as only these two countries can use the bomb, the rest of the world is more or less in the position of a spectator whose voice counts for little in the contest. This has led to an unnatural polarization between Washington and Moscow which will tend to diminish as other countries master the technical secrets of atomic science and begin to make inventions and discoveries of their own. And we may hope with some reason that the increased influence of the other nations will be a new and effective force in striving toward an international agreement which will serve the cause of peace.

Telford Taylor

Second, the spread of atomic knowledge will greatly dimish the importance of secrecy, which has played an abnormally large part in the problem. When atomic discoveries are made in Sweden or France or Italy, Americans and Russians may cease to imagine that their security is utterly dependent upon oaths and investigations and guards and walls, whether of enforced silence or brick and mortar.

Even a partial lifting of the veil of secrecy will be a great step toward peace and understanding among nations, and will promote the possibility of an accord from which new principles of international law may develop. Half the trouble today is fear—fear of the unknown. Here and there a few scientists and their many assistants are tinkering with these potent machines in surroundings which are more like prisons than laboratories. In a few capitals a few high officials are privy to such of these secrets as they can understand, which may not be so many. The general public does not know what facts impress their political leaders as significant; it does not know what conclusions they reach. The journalist must write his newspaper column on the basis of a guess and a whisper; the rest of us can only grope blindly in an oppressive and baffling murk. The sooner we can let in some light, the better it will be for the world.

Outlaw the First Bomb

BY HENRI ROLIN
Belgian Senator

THE present mood in Belgium, as in France, regarding the prospects of war is in general a gloomy one. Until last fall some of my countrymen took comfort in the thought of the American monopoly of atomic weapons. Considering the weakness of Allied forces in Western Europe, they regarded the possession of such weapons by the United States as the only possible means of preventing Russian aggression.

Yet others were not so pleased with the prospect they could foresee in case of war between East and West. They knew that in order to be used efficiently the atomic bombs had to be dropped from bases as near as possible to Soviet Russia—that means Western Europe. If anything like that were started, the only possible answer would be the prompt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

invasion of our country by Soviet troops, and then we would become a new target for American bombs.

But if Belgium's lot in a war did not look too bright even while the American monopoly lasted, it has become definitely darker since the explosion last fall of an experimental bomb in Soviet territory. And yet I believe firmly that from this apparently desperate situation new opportunities for a favorable evolution may emerge.

It was Mr. Churchill's suggestion in his speech that a direct approach be made to Russia's Premier, Joseph Stalin, for an agreement on the atomic bomb. The British Foreign Office rejected this suggestion. Personally, I regret it. I still hope that one of these days the heads of Western states will again consider it their duty to meet man-to-man their colleague from the East and find out if the essential human needs involved in the present cold war don't find some response on his side.

Henri Rolin

M. Bourdet has defended the idea of substituting for the Atlantic Pact a new system of European neutrality. Tonight I wish only to underscore the point that if, in one way or another, Western Europe could regain the position of a Third Force, it would greatly increase its influence inside the United Nations and help restore the authority of that great organization. Everybody knows that a major cause of Soviet obstruction and abuse of the veto is the genuine belief that Western European states, as well as most of the other member nations, have practically lost their independence in voting. One may fear that any scheme of inspection or control under a disarmament convention would be paralyzed by the same lack of confidence, so that even in relation to the atomic problems which have been the center of our discussions, the idea of European neutrality has interesting possibilities.

I feel that Dr. Cavers's proposals (see page 499) will meet with the same difficulty which prevented the success of former efforts to reduce armaments. Whatever the terms of agreement may be, the fear will be expressed in many quarters that secret preparations may be going on in the other camp and that if we loyally fulfill our obligations, we may be victims of our good faith. Indeed even the negotiation of such a convention might prove impossible if the atmosphere in which the discussions opened were as heavy and poisoned with distrust as it is today.

Therefore, I think our immediate effort should be to formulate proposals of such nature that their acceptance by the parties concerned would be interpreted on both sides as a sign of good will.

A suggestion of this sort was made by the committee for the World Congress of Peace Partisans, which met in Stockholm a few weeks ago. While they started by repeating the usual Soviet proposals for outlawing atomic warfare and establishing international control, they did suggest something concrete—namely: "The government that first made use of the atomic weapon against any state would commit a crime against humanity and would be treated as a war criminal."

I indicate the source of my suggestion not because of special links with the Communist Party, but because it is an indication that at least on the Russian side the proposal has every chance of meeting with sympathy.

Personally, I have thought a good deal about this proposal and I have two amendments to suggest: 1. That it should not be limited to atomic bombs but extended to other existing means of mass destruction such as bacteriological warfare and the use of gas bombs. 2. That not only governments but all those taking part in the launching of a first atomic attack should be held responsible as war criminals.

Under this formula what reasons could the Western Powers invoke for rejecting the proposal? Some might object that in subscribing to such an undertaking the government in Washington would appear to be accepting blame for the decision taken in the summer of 1945 when two atomic bombs were used against Japan.

I will not comment on the merits of that decision. It has been discussed and will be for many years to come. But even if the use of two bombs against enemy cities can be condoned because of the belief that they would finish the war, there is no contradiction between such a view and the outlawing of a similar initiative in future which, under existing conditions, *would lead inevitably to reprisals of like nature* and to the mass murder, not of a few tens of thousands, but of many millions of individuals on both sides. The situation envisioned by the Stockholm conference is therefore without precedent.

I know that some people will express doubt as to the practical effect of any such convention. If I understood General Taylor clearly, he was rather skeptical about the proposal that the belligerent use of atomic explosives be prohibited by international treaty. It is true that while gas bombs were outlawed by the treaties of 1922 and 1925, manufacture and storage of gas went on in large quantities. But the fact is that during the second World War, while on both sides stocks of gas bombs existed, neither side used them. Why? Because of fear of reprisals? Undoubtedly, in part; but one can argue that that fear would not have been sufficient to prevent the initiative of one side or the other if both parties had not found in the convention at least a reason to expect that on condition each abstained, the other party would also abstain from using that weapon.

But even if one remains skeptical as to the practical value of the proposed convention, can one doubt the change in atmosphere which would result from the signature of an agreement on the vital problem of atomic energy control, the first sign of progress after five years of painful stalemate?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Control Is Not Enough

BY LOUIS N. RIDENOUR, JR.
Dean, Graduate College, University of Illinois

I FEEL that there is a tendency to overemphasize the role of atomic energy in the larger problem of modern war. I urge this on your attention because we must recognize that atomic energy, although impressive, is only a milestone on the road of man's technical progress. But all man's technical knowledge serves warfare. Atomic energy is simply one of the newest, and certainly one of the most spectacular, of our technical advances. And we must not believe that if we control this particular technical development, we shall therefore control man's future inhumanity to man. There are many ways of killing people; we have not learned them all yet; if we desire we shall learn many new ways. Thus in seeking the control of atomic energy, we are dealing with a transient though important phase of the whole problem of war among nations, and we must never be misled into thinking that any solution of this aspect of the problem provides a durable answer to the problem itself, or, indeed, that in pursuing the control of atomic energy, we are fighting against the crime of war.

I suggest that an exclusive preoccupation with the problem of atomic energy threatens to make us lose sight of issues that are seemingly more pedestrian but quite possibly more important. It seems to me that the friendship of Western Europe for us and our cause is about the most important single prop of our security as a nation. And it sometimes seems to me that perhaps European nations are friendly to the United States chiefly because of our ability to deliver quantities of goods across a broad ocean even in war time. So the threat to ocean transport offered by modern submarines is possibly more important than our loss of sole possession of the atomic bomb and, in the future, the probable loss of a hydrogen bomb monopoly.

What must be controlled, then, is the threat of war itself. One way we could do it would be by appeasing the Soviet Union, by yielding whenever an issue is raised. We have chosen, on the contrary, to oppose the Soviet Union in what must seem to its people a very unpleasant fashion. We are doing this, or so I believe and so it is said, because of our profound regard for human dignity, for the freedom of the individual, and for the rights of man. But if we are running this terrible risk of technological warfare for the defense of these important concepts of human freedom, rights, and dignity, we must be extremely careful not to destroy the things we are defending in the name of protecting them.

There is some evidence that this is happening. It is happening very largely in the area of atomic energy itself. I suggest that it is happening because of our undue concentration on atomic energy as a symbol of something altogether different, something which we all know at heart and fear. I am not opposed to the international control of atomic energy. I am in favor of it, though I do not know how to secure it. But I remind you, and you must never forget, that the control of atomic energy is not the problem which faces man at this mid-point in the twentieth century.

Formula for Peace

BY CLAUDE BOURDET
Distinguished French Journalist

[*The following basic points were made by Claude Bourdet whose address appeared in full in last week's issue of* The Nation.]

1. The Atlantic community should be abandoned in favor of an independent and neutral Europe.

The concept of an Atlantic community is based on the false premise that there is complete solidarity and harmony among the Communist states. Events in the Eastern European countries have proved that conflicts of interest always exist among the various Communist states and within each state, and that these antagonisms inevitably lead to an attempt by national Communist parties, or sections of these parties, to win more freedom from Moscow. This could have happened in China, but now by isolating the Asian agrarian Communist regimes the Western powers are forcing them to rely solely on Moscow and to fit into the monolithic pattern which Communist theory has invented.

The Atlantic Pact has restricted European commerce by means of the Western blockade and the Russian counter-blockade. It has severed traditional economic relations between industrial Western Europe and agrarian Eastern Europe. Attempts to replace the natural commerce of Europe with large-scale trade between Europe and the United States create an artificial relationship which can be sustained only through the contributions of the American taxpayer. When Marshall Plan aid stops there will be economic havoc in Europe unless the present level of East-West trade is increased by at least a billion dollars annually. Strategically, the concept of the Atlantic community is equally unrealistic because the area includes millions of people who either will not fight or will fight on the other side. Psychologically it is absurd because it encourages the Kremlin to unify still further the Communist bloc.

2. The organization and defense of European neutrality should be fostered.

3. Trade should be encouraged between Western Europe and the people's democracies and between eastern and western Germany.

4. The Chinese Peoples Democracy should be formally admitted to the United Nations.

5. The United States should stop encouraging the French to bolster up a puppet regime in Indo-China.

6. The proposal for international ownership of atomic resources and means of production should be given up.

7. The proposal for comprehensive international inspection of atomic production should be retained.

8. As a preliminary measure, all existing bombs should be put under United Nations seal.

9. An international convention should be adopted outlawing the use of both atomic and hydrogen bombs.

10. An international center should be set up for peacetime atomic research in a country outside either the Western or Eastern bloc. An international fund should be created to stimulate scientific research for the benefit of all mankind.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why They Read "The Nation"!

Raymond Swing

"I can think of no single periodical in the United States whose continued existence is of more importance to American democracy than *The Nation.*"

Thomas Mann

"*The Nation* will always be cited among the best and most courageous advocates of ideas which mankind will always recognize as the good and right ones."

Helen Gahagan Douglas

"*The Nation* prints material I can't find elsewhere. It is soundly critical, yet it has an excellent record in advocating positive liberal programs."

Clifton Fadiman

"To every American who treasures . . . our national ideals of justice, decency, and democracy, *The Nation* continues to be both a necessity and a stimulus."

Joseph E. Davies

"*The Nation* adheres to a policy of enlightenment and liberal service in public interest, in an effort to promote a wider knowledge and more intelligent understanding of the facts motivating current world events . . ."

Use this Convenient Order Form

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

I enclose my remittance of $2 for which please send me the next 22 weeks of *The Nation.*

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City*_____ *Zone*____ *State*_____

5/20/50

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER

You can subscribe to *The Nation* for the next 22 weeks for only $2 by tearing off and mailing the convenient order form, with your remittance today.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED